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Piotr Taracha

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The illustration on the cover page 4 shows a drawing of the Hieroglyphic Luwian seal ZN 1769 stored in the Skulpturensammlung of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

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PREFACE

My studies on Hittite religion have brought me to the conclusion that discrepancies existing between earlier views concern not only the identity of particular deities and the nature of their cult, but also the rather more fundamental question of why Hittite religion changed so radically under the Empire. Several issues remain to be analyzed for a better understanding of the religions of Hittite Anatolia and their development, but even so, recent progress in the field merits a review of the extended source base, which includes relevant, newly published texts and fresh studies on specific issues. I have put it to myself to evaluate the new propositions and to offer a synthesis of my own views on the subject. The present book is the effect of that work. I am fully aware that definite answers to many questions are still lacking. Neither can I presume to gain full approval of most Hittitologists for all the views presented here. In particular, the opinion that a new dynasty originating from a strongly Hurrianized Kizzuwatnean milieu seized power in Ḫattuša at the outset of the Empire period still finds many opponents. In my view, however, it was this fact that determined the new cultural image of Hittite Anatolia and with it the change that occurred in the official pantheon and cult of the Hittite state.

I am indebted in various ways to many persons and institutions, whose kindness and generous assistance have permitted this book to germinate. The Rector and the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the University of Warsaw, my academic base, have provided generous assistance for the publication of this book. Prof. Doris Prechel twice (2004 and 2008) graciously invited me to work as a visiting professor at the Institut für Ägyptologie und Altorientalistik of the Universität Mainz. Prof. Gernot Wilhelm kindly and generously allowed me the use of the files of the Boğazköy-Archiv in Mainz. On these occasions, I benefited from the kind assistance of Dr. Silvin Košak and Prof. Jared Miller. A special word of thanks goes to my Teacher, Prof. Maciej Popko, who kindly read through an earlier draft of the manuscript. I have profited much from his valuable suggestions and insights relating to the scholarly substance of the book. Dr. Guido Kryszat has also given me very welcome help

by reading and commenting on parts of the manuscript. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for the views expressed here.

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Last of all, this book would not have been written without the constant support of my wife Jolanta. It is dedicated to her.

Piotr Taracha
September 2008

ABBREVIATIONS

.../a, .../b, etc.	Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated 1931–1967
AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin
ABoT	*Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*, Istanbul 1948
AcAn	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Acta Iranica	*Acta Iranica. Encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes publiée par le Centre internationale d'études indo-iraniennes. Troisième série: Hommages et opera minora*, Louvain-la-Neuve
Acts I ICH	*Uluslararası 1. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri (19-21 Temmuz 1990)*, Ankara [1992]
Acts II ICH	O. Carruba – M. Giorgeri – C. Mora (eds), *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia: Pavia, 28 giugno – 2 luglio 1993*. Studia Mediterranea 9, Pavia 1995
Acts III ICH	S. Alp – A. Süel (eds), *III. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri: Çorum 16-22 Eylül 1996 = Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology: Çorum, September 16-22, 1996*, Ankara 1998
Acts IV ICH	G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie: Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*. StBoT 45, Wiesbaden 2001
Acts V ICH	A. Süel (ed.), *V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri: Çorum 02-08 Eylül 2002 = Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology: Çorum, September 02-08, 2002*, Ankara 2005
Acts VI ICH	A. Archi – R. Francia (eds), *VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia: Roma, 5-9 settembre 2005*, vol. I = SMEA 49, 2007; vol. II = SMEA 50, 2008
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung. Internazionale Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient, Berlin – Graz – Wien
AION	Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli
AION-L	Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli – Sezione Linguistica
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, Princeton – Boston
ALASPM	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
American Antiquity	American Antiquity. Journal of the Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
Anadolu (Anatolia)	Anadolu/Anatolia. Revue annuelle de l'Institut d'Archéologie de l'Université d'Ankara, Ankara
Anatolian Archaeology	Anatolian Archaeology. Annual magasine of the BIAA, London
Anatolica	Anatolica. Annuaire international pour les civilisations de l'Asie Antérieure, Istanbul – Leiden
AnSt	Anatolian Studies. Journal of the BIAA, London
Antike Welt	Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte, Mainz
Antiquity	Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology, London – Tonbridge
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin
AOS	American Oriental Series

APA Acta Prehistorica et Archaeologica, Berlin

ArAn Archivum Anatolicum, Ankara

Archaeologia Polona
Archaeologia Polona. Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

Archeologia Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu Archelogii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa

ArOr Archív Orientální, Praha

AS Assyriological Studies

AuOr Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente antiguo, Barcelona

Athenaeum Athenaeum. Studi periodici di letteratura e storia dell'antichità, Pavia

'Atiqot 'Atiqot. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities

BAR IS British Archaeological Reports, International Series

BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven – Atlanta

BBVO Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient

Belleten Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten, Ankara

BIAA The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara

BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden

BMECCJ Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, Wiesbaden

Bo Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated 1906-1912

Bo 68/... ff. Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated 1968ff.

BoHa Boğazköy-Ḫattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen

BYZAS BYZAS. Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul

CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago–Glückstadt 1956ff.

CANE J.M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, New York 1995

CEPOA Les Cahiers du Centre d'études du Proche Orient ancien, Genève

CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

CHD *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago 1980ff.

ChS Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler

CM Cuneiform Monographs

Collectanea Theologica
Collectanea Theologica / Przegląd Teologiczny. Kwartalnik teologów polskich, Warszawa

CoS 1 W.W. Hallo – K.L. Younger (eds), *The Context of Scripture*. Vol. 1. *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997

CoS 3 K.L. Younger (ed.), *The Context of Scripture*. Vol. 3. *Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2002

CTH E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris 1971

DBH Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie

De Anatolia Antiqua
De Anatolia Antiqua, Paris

DMOA Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui. Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and Civilisation

Eothen Eothen. Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico

Fs Akurgal C. Bayburtluoğlu (ed.), *Akurgal'a Armağan. Festschrift Akurgal*, vol. 1 = Anadolu (Anatolia) 21, 1978–1980 (1987), vol. 2 = Anadolu (Anatolia) 22, 1981–1983 (1989)

Fs Alp H. Otten – E. Akurgal – H. Ertem – A. Süel (eds), *Sedat Alp'a Armağan. Festschrift für Sedat Alp: Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, Ankara 1992

Fs Biggs M.T. Roth, W. Farber, M.W. Stolper, P. von Bechtolsheim (eds), *Studies Presented to Robert D. Biggs, June 4, 2004*. AS 27, Chicago 2007

Fs Bittel[2] R.M. Boehmer – H. Hauptmann (eds), *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, Mainz am Rhein 1983

Fs Bossert *Anadolu Araştırmaları: Helmut Theodor Bossert'in Hatırasına Armağan* (= JKF 4!), İstanbul 1965

Fs Çambel G. Arsebük – M.J. Mellink – W. Schirmer (eds), *Light on Top of the Black Hill: Studies Presented to Halet Çambel*, Istanbul 1998

Fs Carruba A. Archi – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *Studi di Ittitologia in onore di Onofrio Carruba* (= Or NS 73, 2004, fasc. 4)

Fs Civil = AuOr 9, 1991

Fs Cotsen G. Buccellati – M. Kelly-Buccellati (eds), *Urkesh and the Hurrians, Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen*. Urkesh/Mozan Studies 3, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 26, Malibu 1998

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Fs Esin M. Özdoğan – H. Hauptmann – N. Başgelen (eds), *Ufuk Esin'e Armağan: Köyden Kente. Yakindoğu'da İlk Yerleşimler / Studies Presented to Ufuk Esin: From Village to Cities. Early Villages in the Near East*, Istanbul 2003

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Fs Fronzaroli *Semitic and Assyriological Studies Presented to Pelio Fronzaroli by Pupils and Colleagues*, Wiesbaden 2003

Fs Furlani *Scritti in onore di Giuseppe Furlani* (= RSO 32, 1957)

Fs Gibson N. Wyatt – W.G.E. Watson – J.B. Lloyd (eds), *Ugarit, Religion and Culture: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Ugarit, Religion and Culture, Edinburgh, July 1994. Essays Presented in Honour of Professor John C.L. Gibson*. UBL 12, Münster 1996

Fs Gusmani R. Bombi – G. Cifoletti – F. Fusco – L. Innocente – V. Orioles (eds), *Studi linguistici in onore di Roberto Gusmani*, Alessandria 2006

Fs Güterbock[1]
K. Bittel – Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate – E. Reiner (eds), *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Istanbul 1974

Fs Güterbock[2]
H.A. Hoffner – G.M. Beckman (eds), *Kaniššuwar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His 75th Birthday, May 27, 1983*. AS 23, Chicago 1986

Fs Haas T. Richter – D. Prechel – J. Klinger (eds), *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, Saarbrücken 2001

Fs Haase J. Hengstl – U. Sick (eds), *Recht gestern und heute: Festschrift zum 85. Geburtstag von Richard Haase*. Philippika. Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 13, Wiesbaden 2006

Fs Haider R. Rollinger – B. Truschnegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*. Oriens et Occidens 12, Stuttgart 2006

Fs Hallo M. Cohen – D. Snell – D. Weisberg (eds), *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda 1993

Fs Hauptmann
R.M. Boehmer – J. Maran (eds), *Lux Orientis. Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa. Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Rahden/Westf. 2001

Fs Hecker Vol. 1 = AoF 35/1, 2008

Fs Hirsch A. Ambros – M. Köhbach (eds), *Festschrift für Hans Hirsch* (= WZKM 86, 1996)

Fs Hoffner G. Beckman – R. Beal – G. McMahon (eds), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Winona Lake, Indiana 2003

Fs Houwink ten Cate
Th.P.J. van den Hout – J. de Roos (eds), *Studio historiae ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. PIHANS 74, Leiden 1995

Fs Hrouda P. Calmeyer – K. Hecker – L. Jakob-Rost – Ch.B.F. Walker (eds), *Beiträge zur Altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde. Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1994

Fs Kantor A. Leonard – B.B. Williams (eds), *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor*, Chicago 1989

Fs Klein Y. Sefati – P. Artzi – Ch. Cohen – B.L. Eichler – V.A. Hurowitz (eds), *"An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing": Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein*, Bethesda, MD 2005

Fs Koch D.R. Daniels – U. Glessmer – M. Rösel (eds), *Ernten, was man sät. Festschrift für Klaus Koch zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Neukirchen 1991

Fs Košak D. Groddek – M. Zorman (eds), *Tabularia Hethaeorum. Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*. DBH 25, Wiesbaden 2007

Fs Laroche *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, Paris 1979

Fs Lebrun M. Mazoyer – O. Casabonne (eds), *Studia Anatolica et Varia: Mélanges offerts au Professeur René Lebrun*. Collection KUBABA, Série Antiquité VI, Paris 2004

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M. Ofitsch – Ch. Zinko (eds), *Studia Onomastica et Indogermanica: Festschrift für Fritz Lochner von Hüttenbach zum 65. Geburtstag*, Graz 1995

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M. Dietrich – O. Loretz (eds), *Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Ruth Mayer-Opificius mit Beiträgen von Freunden und Schülern*. Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients 4, Münster 1994

Fs Mellink J.V. Canby – E. Porada – B.S. Ridgway – T. Stech, *Ancient Anatolia. Aspects of Change and Cultural Development: Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*, Madison, Wisconsin 1986

Fs Meriggi[2] O. Carruba (ed.), *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata*, Pavia 1979

Fs Mikasa M. Mori – H. Ogawa – M. Yoshikawa (eds), *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (= BMECCJ 5, 1991)

Fs Morpurgo Davies
J.H.W. Penney (ed.), *Indo-European Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies*, Oxford 2004

Fs Nagel R. Dittman – Ch. Eder – B. Jacobs (eds), *Altertumswissenschaften im Dialog: Festschrift für Wolfram Nagel zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres*. AOAT 306, Münster 2003

Fs Neumann[2]
M. Fritz – S. Zeilfelder (eds), *Novalis Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 80. Geburtstag*, Graz 2002

Fs Neve *Festschrift für Peter Neve. Zum 65. Geburtstag am 3. April 1994 von Freunden und Kollegen* (= IstMitt 43, 1993)

Fs Nowicka = Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej 46, fasc. 1-2, Warszawa 1998

Fs NÖzgüç M.J. Mellink – E. Porada – T. Özgüç (eds), *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors, Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, Ankara 1993

Fs Oberhuber
W. Meid – H. Trenkwalder (eds), *Im Bannkreis des Alten Orients: Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients und seines Ausstrahlungsraumes Karl Oberhuber zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 24, Innsbruck 1986

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Fs Otten[2] E. Neu – Ch. Rüster (eds), *Documentum Asiae Minoris antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1988

Fs Pope J.H. Marks – R.M. Good (eds), *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope*, Guilford, Conn. 1987

Fs Popko P. Taracha (ed.), *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Warsaw 2002

Fs Pugliese Carratelli
F. Imparati (ed.), *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*. Eothen 1, Firenze 1988

Fs Reiner F. Rochberg-Halton (ed.), *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*. AOS 67, New Haven 1987

Fs Renger B. Böck – E. Cancik-Kirschbaum – T. Richter (eds), *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*. AOAT 267, Münster 1999

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Fs Schlerath B. Hänsel – S. Zimmer (eds), *Die Indogermanen und das Pferd. Akten des Internationalen interdisziplinären Kolloquiums, Freie Universität Berlin, 1.-3. Juli 1992*, Budapest 1994

Fs Townsend Vermeule
J.B. Carter – S.P. Morris (eds), *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin, Texas 1995

Fs TÖzgüç K. Emre – B. Hrouda – M. Mellink – N. Özgüç (eds), *Tahsin Özgüç'e Armağan. Anatolia and the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç*, Ankara 1989

Fs Trolle Larsen
J. Dercksen (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, Leiden 2004

Fs van Loon O.M.C. Haex – H.H. Curvers – P.M.M.G. Akkermans (eds), *To the Euphrates and Beyond. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Maurits N. van Loon*, Rotterdam – Brookfield 1989

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M. Dietrich – O. Loretz (eds), *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament. Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*. AOAT 240, Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1995

Fs Weiler P. Mauritsch – W. Petermandl – R. Rollinger – Ch. Ulf (eds), *Antike Lebenswelten: Konstanz – Wandel – Wirkungsmacht. Festschrift für Ingomar Weiler zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 2008

Gs Ehrman	Y.L. Arbeitman (ed.), *A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman*. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 58, Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1988
Gs Forrer	D. Groddek – S. Rößle (eds), *Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer (19.02.1894 – 10.01.1986)*. DBH 10, Dresden 2004
Gs Güterbock	K.A. Yener – H.A. Hoffner, Jr. (eds), *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History. Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*, Winona Lake, Indiana 2002
Gs Imparati	S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds), *Anatolia Antica: Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*. Eothen 11, Firenze 2002
Gs Neu	*Studia Anatolica in Memoriam Erich Neu Scripta* (= Hethitica 16), in press
Gs Palmieri	M. Frangipane – H. Hauptmann – M. Liverani – P. Matthiae – M. Mellink (eds), *Between the Rivers and over the Mountains. Archaeologica Anatolica et Mesopotamica Alba Palmieri dedicata*, Roma 1993
Gs Parrot	D. Charpin – J.-M. Durand (eds), *Recueil d'études à la memoire d'André Parrot*. Florilegium Marianum VI. Mémoires de NABU 7, Paris 2002
Gs Porada	D.I. Owen – G. Wilhelm (eds), *Edith Porada Memorial Volume*. SCCNH 7, Bethesda 1995
Gs Quattordio Moreschini	L. Agostiniani – M.G. Arcamone – O. Carruba – F. Imparati – R. Rizza (eds), *do-ra-qe pe-re: Studi in memoria di Adriana Quattordio Moreschini*, Pisa – Roma 1998
Gs Sachs	E. Leichty – M. de J. Ellis – P. Gerardi (eds), *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*. Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 9, Philadelphia 1988
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HED	J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Berlin – New York 1984ff.
Hethitica	Hethitica, Louvain-la-Neuve – Paris
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge, Mass.
HT	*Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character in the British Museum*, London 1920
HW^2	J. Friedrich – A. Kammenhuber et al., *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte, Heidelberg 1975ff.
IBoT	*İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri 1-4*, İstanbul 1944, 1947, 1954, Ankara 1988
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
ICK I	B. Hrozný, *Inscriptions cunéiforms du Kültépé*, vol. I, Praha 1952
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg – Leipzig – Berlin
IJDL	International Journal of Diachronic Lingustics and Linguistic Reconstruction, München
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies. Tel Aviv University
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Tübingen
JAC	Journal of Ancient Civilizations, Changchun
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions, Chicago
JANES	The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University, New York
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies, New Haven, Conn.
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux", Leiden
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology, Boston
JIES	The Journal of Indo-European Studies, Hattiesburg
JKF	Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen (= Anadolu Araştırmaları), Heidelberg-Istanbul
JMC	Journal of Material Culture. Journal of the SAGE

JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages, Stellenbosch
Kadmos	Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik, Berlin
KASKAL	KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e cultura del Vicino Oriente antico, Roma
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Leipzig – Berlin 1916ff.
Kratylos	Kratylos. Kritisches Bericht- und Rezensionsorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Wiesbaden
KST	Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı
kt	Inventory numbers of Kültepe tablets
Ktéma	Ktéma. Civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques, Strasbourg
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin 1921ff.
KuT	Inventory numbers of Kuşaklı tablets
KZ	see ZVS
l.col.	left column
Language	Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore
MARI	Mari. Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires, Paris
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Berlin
Mesopotamia	Mesopotamia. Rivista di archeologia, epigrafia e storia orientale, Torino
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin
Miscellanea di studi storici	Miscellanea di studi storici. Collana storica di fonti e studi, Genova
Msk.	Inventory numbers of Meskene tablets
Muséon	Muséon. Revue d'études orientales, Louvain
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NABU	Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires, Paris
Nikephoros	Nikephoros. Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum, Hildesheim
Numen	Numen. International Review for the History of Religions, Leiden
OA	Oriens Antiquus. Rivista del Centro per l'antichità e la storia dell'arte del Vicino Oriente, Roma
OAAS	Old Assyrian Archives Studies
OAM	Orientis Antiqui Miscellanea, Roma
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
obv.	obverse
OIP	The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Monatschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient und seinen Beziehungen zu den angrenzenden Kulturkreisen, Berlin – Leipzig
Or	Inventory numbers of Ortaköy tablets
Or NS	Orientalia. Commentarii trimestres a Facultate Studiorum Orientis Antiqui Pontifici Instituti Biblici. Nova Series, Roma
Oriens	Oriens. Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research, Leiden
Orient	Orient / Nippon Orient Gakkai. Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan, Tokyo
Orientalia et Classica	Orientalia et Classica. Papers of the Institute of Oriental and Classical Studies of the Russian State University for the Humanities
Paléorient	Paléorient, Paris
PdP	La Parola del Passato. Rivista di studi antichi, Napoli
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néderlandais de Stamboul

RA Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, Paris
RANT Res Antiquae, Bruxelles
rev. reverse
RGTC Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
RHA Revue Hittite et Asianique, Paris
RHR Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris
RlA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, Berlin – New York
RO Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Warszawa
RS Inventory numbers of Ras Shamra tablets
RSO Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Roma
SCCNH Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians, Winona Lake, Indiana
SCO Studi Classici e Orientali, Pisa
SEL Studi epigrafici e lingustici sul Vicino Oriente antico, Verona
Slavica Hierosolymitana Slavica Hierosolymitana. Slavic Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem
SMEA Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici, Roma
Sprache Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft, Wiesbaden – Wien
StBoT Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
Sumer Sumer. A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq, Baghdad
Syria Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie, Paris
Tel Aviv Tel Aviv. Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv
THeth Texte der Hethiter
TM Inventory numbers of Tell Mardikh tablets
TTKY Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları
TUAT O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, Gütersloh
TUAT NF B. Janowski – G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge*, Gütersloh
TÜBA-AR Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi, Ankara
UBL Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
UF Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas, Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn
VBoT A. Götze (ed.), *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Marburg 1930
VO Vicino Oriente. Università di Roma, Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, Roma
VOQ Vicino Oriente – Quaderno
VS NF *Vorderasiatische Schiftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Neue Folge*
WAW Writings from the Ancient World
WdO Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes, Göttingen
WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien
XENIA XENIA. Konstanzer Althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen
ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete – Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Berlin – New York
ZABR Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte, Wiesbaden
ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin
ZVS Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung ("Kuhns Zeitschrift"), Göttingen

INTRODUCTION

For the scholar of antiquity Asia Minor, also called Anatolia, is a fascinating region. Civilizations have been born and have flourished here since the Neolithic Age. Their expansion, resulting from migrations and the transfer of cultural values, has contributed to the Neolithization of prehistoric Europe and has had an overwhelming impact on the formation of Bronze Age culture in Crete, as well as the Mycenaean and Greek world which grew out of it, later determining the cultural face of Graeco-Roman antiquity. In the first millennium BC, the greatest accomplishments of Babylonian civilization followed the road from Mesopotamia to the Aegean to reach the Greeks. Asia Minor, which lay on this route, did not just act as an intermediary in the process of transferring the ideas of the East; it actually shaped this process, contributing much of its own. Not the least in the sphere of religion.

This presentation of the most ancient Anatolian beliefs needs a brief introduction. The religions of Asia Minor were formed in the realm of the Ancient Near East where the personification and anthropomorphization of divinities had been going on ever since the Neolithic. Beliefs typical of primitive societies, characterized by animism, fetishism, totemism and primitive magic, were transformed as a result of these processes into a polytheistic religion. Being one of the important regions of Neolithic development, Anatolia played a significant role in this process, the origins of which can be perceived in the way Neolithic communities grasped the essence of divinity, still far distant from the might of the later gods. Social changes were of intrinsic importance for the development of this process, as much as the ever strong belief of ancient man, deriving from prehistoric magic, in the uniformity and interrelation of everything that exists. The question is, however, why man created gods in his own image. Mainly because it was a way of taming the incomprehensible and dangerous in the world around him. Man sought in the gods a partner to negotiate with, according to the *do ut des* principle – influence their decisions with appropriate gifts, curry favor and protection, appease anger. The *do ut des* principle lies at the root of

the practice of offering sacrifices to the gods.[1] Ancestor cult also goes back to the earliest times. Undoubtedly derived from pre-Neolithic tradition, this cult drew from a belief in the afterlife and was expressed in part by special treatment of mortal remains of the dead members of a community or family and the burial place. Images of the deceased were prepared and rites, including sacrifices, celebrated in their honor.

Contact with the gods was facilitated by their humanized appearance. Divinities were given material form – as an idol, figurine or statue – and they had need for a home – a shrine. Later (but not before the developed Chalcolithic), the gods took power over man and the world. They began to be perceived as creators and guardians of the cosmic order, determining the course of events in nature and in the life of every man. Like the earthly rulers, they demanded daily service provided by priests within the frame of a regularly celebrated cult, as well as homage expressed in hymns and prayer. The latter, frequently enriched with a hymnal part, was intended as a means of persuading the gods to man's point of view and inducing them to fulfill his or her needs and expectations.

The anthropomorphization of divinities is a trait characteristic of civilizations of the Ancient Near East. Consequently, the appearance of anthropomorphic cults in Europe should be considered the effect of Near Eastern influence. At the same time, the anthropomorphization determined the polytheistic nature of religion. The gods divided among themselves power over the cosmos, underworld, elements and forces of nature and the various spheres of man's life. This was also reflected in the hierarchic pantheon structure modeled on contemporary social relations. With the emergence of bigger political entities in the Ancient Near East, the position of a divinity was often decided by the political situation. Anatolia in Hittite times is an excellent example. The pantheon of the capital Ḫattuša, which also incorporated the divinities of the traditional 'holy cities' and more important local centers, became the state pantheon and the gods standing at its head were charged with protection of the king and kingdom.

In the earliest, pre-religion times, man's attitude to phenomena of nature and supernatural forces was expressed primarily in magical thinking. It does not mean that magic lost importance with the emergence of polytheistic religion. The gods were

1 The concept of personification and anthropomorphization of the gods in the Ancient Near East has been propounded by M. Popko, whom I am grateful to for inspiring scholarly discussion.

included in magical rites. Summoned by appropriate spells and practices, they were present physically, often in the shape of figurines made for a given occasion. Mythological incantation brought them onto the stage of events and involved them in the action. The psychological factor was undoubtedly of considerable importance. In the participants' view, magic done parallel in the world of the gods reinforced the effectiveness of the rites. Under such circumstances, new mythological themes tended to emerge *ad hoc*. The Anatolian myths of which we have knowledge were inextricably connected with ritual and their development into literary compositions had only just began.

In the Ancient Near Eastern attitude to the gods, cult and magic are not always exactly distinguishable. The respective rituals were complementary and were intended as a means and a way of contacting the gods and influencing their decisions. Celebrating divine cult was tantamount to regular service, both everyday and during festivals taking place in accordance with a calendar cycle or being addressed to a given divinity. Magical practices, bolstered by the power of incantations which were ordinarily accompanied by sacrifices to the gods, were kept for emergency situations, in the face of danger or disaster, when appropriate magic techniques and insistent persuasion in the form of spells, appropriate 'compensation' and sacrifices were supposed to induce and even force the gods to change their decision or to take a positive one in specific matters. It is natural that magic played a particularly significant role in everyday life.

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Much has been written on the subject of Hittite religion. Pioneering studies appeared in the 1930s.[2] Emanuel Laroche's *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* was of prime importance for further studies.[3] Later discussions of Hittite religion range from brief encyclopedic items to comprehensive monographs.[4]

2 Götze 1933: 122ff.; Delaporte 1936: 241ff.; Furlani 1936. Cf. also R. Dussaud apud Dhorme – Dussaud 1945: 333ff.
3 Laroche 1946-1947.
4 See, e.g., Güterbock 1950; 1964b; Gurney 1952: 132ff.; 1977; Otten 1964; Vieyra 1970; di Nola 1971; Hartmann 1972; Kümmel 1973a; Ringgren 1979: 185ff.; Oelsner 1984; Ebach 1986; Hoffner 1987a; 1989; Beckman 1989; Laroche 1991; Gonnet 1992; Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1994; Bryce 2002: 134ff.; Beckman 2003-2005b; 2005a; 2007; Collins 2007: 157ff.; Taracha 2008c.

The 1990s saw two monographic studies on Hittite religion written by eminent scholars. In 1994 Volkert Haas published his monumental *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*. This exhaustive study collected valuable information on different categories of gods, pantheons and cults, but it was criticized by reviewers for what seems to be a lack of clear focus on the Hittite sources themselves for an understanding of Hittite religion and its temporal development.[5] Maciej Popko's *Religions of Asia Minor*, which came out in 1995, presents an innovative approach, discussing the changes in Hittite religion from a historical point of view, according to the common division into three main periods: Old Hittite, Middle Hittite and Empire.[6] These two monographs have remained a principal source of knowledge on Hittite religion for the past decade or so. Meanwhile the past ten years have seen a rapid flow of studies on specific issues,[7] as well as further monographs, the most important one being Ben van Gessel's richly informative *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*,[8] an indispensable tool for present and future scholars of Anatolian religions in Hittite times. Synthetic approaches to a study of Luwian[9] and Hurrian[10] beliefs should also be noted.

Any religious development, whether of local or state pantheons, as well as changes of cult, should be perceived as a dynamic process and as such, treated from a diachronic point of view. This book has therefore been structured after Popko's *Religions* with the reservation that the only break that exists in Hittite history and the history of Hittite religion in particular is the break between the Old Hittite and the Empire period.[11] Chapter one, which essentially expands on this Introduction, sketches the roots of Anatolian beliefs and religious systems from the earliest times through the beginning of the historical age at the outset of the second millennium BC. Thereby, it was deemed necessary for a better understanding of the later religions of Hittite Anatolia to outline in brief the processes of the embodiment of the gods, the emergence of anthropomorphic cults and the beginnings of polytheism. The author has deliberately avoided discussing developments in Anatolian religions after the fall of the Hittite Empire (their presentation in Popko's monographic study has lost nothing of its value), even though he has on occasion included information concerning the worship of particular gods at a later time, well in the first millennium BC. In this book, he has set himself the primary purpose of painting the complexity of the beliefs in the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural environment of Hittite Anatolia and tracing the interpenetration and translatability of different religious and cult traditions. Finally, he has sought the principles determining the structure of both the official and local pantheons and analyzed the impact that the religious policies of a new dynasty of kings in the Empire period had on their emergence and subsequent development.

5 Haas 1994a. See also reviews of Haas's book by Popko 1995b; Beckman 1997a; Hoffner 1997b.
6 Popko 1995a.
7 All new literature could be incorporated into the text of this book until April 2008.
8 van Gessel 1998.
9 Hutter 2003.
10 Trémouille 1999a; 2000a.
11 A further division of the Empire period into Middle and New Hittite is based on linguistic periodization and changing graphic customs; hence it does not contribute to defining historical periods. See, e.g., Archi 2003.

1. PREHISTORIC ANATOLIA

For the period before the beginning of the second millennium BC we have to deal solely with archaeological and iconographic sources. The cognitive possibilities of the archaeological study of religion, its theory and methodology, have excited much discussion among anthropologists, sociologists and historians of religion.[12] A cautious approach has predominated in the contemporary archaeology of cult. Without the testimony of written sources to support it, the archaeological record is treated as little more than a base for understanding the ritual and symbolic aspects of material culture, even when the religious implications of analyzed objects appear self-evident.

The material finds presented in this chapter concern cult practices or, to put it more generally, magic and ritual behaviors which leave no doubt that already in the Neolithic the inhabitants of Anatolia were worshiping their ancestors and later also hosts of nameless divinities who would keep their anonymous status until the beginning of the second millennium BC. The current state of research is far from satisfactory. The archaeological map of Anatolia in this period still has many gaps, especially in the Pontic region. Even so, we are entitled to assume that the belief systems which emerged in prehistoric times were principally the same as the later religions of Hittite Anatolia, despite undoubted development and gradual change over the ages. In this sense, there is every reason to speak of a continuity of religious tradition in this region beginning from at least the later Chalcolithic.

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12 Renfrew 1994; Renfrew – Bahn 1996: 388ff.; and now Insoll 2004 for the relationship between archaeology and religion, the history of relevant scholarship, and existing definitions of religion and ritual. A new approach to the archaeological study of religion is suggested.

1.1. Neolithic

The Anatolian Neolithic demonstrates ties with the early agricultural cultures which developed already in the tenth millennium BC in part of the 'Fertile Crescent,' that is, in Palestine and central Syria. Two groupings of Neolithic sites are evidenced from Asia Minor. The finds at Göbekli Tepe,[13] which lies 15 km northeast of Urfa, are dated to the tenth-ninth millennium BC (Pre-Pottery Neolithic A). The presence in this region of wild einkorn wheat (*Triticum monococcum*), the earliest domesticated species of grain, highlights the role played by hunter-gatherer societies of southeastern Anatolia in the process of abandoning an intensive gathering economy in favor of grain cultivation. The early farming settlements which appeared slightly later, in the ninth millennium BC, in the Taurus piedmont and the river valleys of the Upper Euphrates and Tigris tributaries (Nevalı Çori,[14] Çayönü Tepesi,[15] Cafer Höyük[16]), grew from this local tradition evidenced by the discoveries at Göbekli Tepe.

Very early, Neolithic settlement spread also to the southern part of the Anatolian Plateau as indicated by Pre-Pottery Neolithic material in the oldest layers (IX–VIII) at Hacılar some 25 km southwest of Burdur,[17] Aşıklı Höyük about 25 km southeast of Aksaray,[18] and in the five earliest Pre-XIIE-A levels at the most famous of Neolithic sites in the region, Çatalhöyük, lying 37 km southeast of Konya.[19] Later layers, however, are from the ceramic phase which is dated in Çatalhöyük from the beginning of the seventh millennium through c. 6200 to 5900 BC.[20]

The strong bond between the living and the dead was expressed in burial rites. The hunters and gatherers from Göbekli Tepe built stone structures for their dead (see below), while in the later Neolithic villages the dead were buried beneath house floors, evidently indicating a continued and important presence in the life of their

13 Schmidt 1998; 2000; 2001; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; cf. also Yıldırım – Gates 2007: 282.
14 Hauptmann 1988; 1991–1992; 1993; 2002; 2007.
15 Çambel – Braidwood 1983; Özbek 1988; M. Özdoğan – A. Özdoğan 1990; 1998.
16 Cauvin et al. 1991.
17 Mellaart 1958; 1959a; 1960; 1961; 1970. The Pre-Pottery Neolithic phase at Hacılar is very uncertain, however; see Duru 1989, and now Schoop 2005: 174, 178f. For other Pre-Pottery Neolithic sites in central Anatolia, see Gérard 2002.
18 Esin et al. 1991; Esin – Harmanakaya 1999. Aceramic levels dated from c. 8400 to 7400 BC.
19 Mellaart 1962; 1963a; 1964; 1965; 1966; 1967. Renewed fieldwork began in 1993: Hodder (ed.) 1996; 2000; 2005a; 2005b; 2005c; 2007.
20 For absolute dating at Çatalhöyük, see Cessford et al. 2005.

descendants. There is archaeological evidence of funerary rituals and feasts during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Levant and southeastern Anatolia.[21] Even so, poor and little diversified grave goods are proof that the Neolithic social ranking processes had not yet taken on momentum.[22] The dead appear to have been treated as a community of all the ancestors of the village's inhabitants. At Çatalhöyük it was observed that the same divisions which existed among the living concerned the dead. Ian Hodder and Craig Cessford have noted that "different types of people were buried beneath certain platforms, that different plasters were used for different platforms. ... Because of the burial associations between different types of people and different parts of the house, it seems reasonable to assume that different people may have sat, eaten, and slept in different parts of the house."[23]

The secondary form of burial, typical of the period and shared by the early Neolithic cultures of the Near East, must have had its origins in the pre-Neolithic tradition. The skeleton or just the skull was buried after the excarnation, which may have taken place outside the village, possibly with the aid of vultures. One of the reliefs from Göbekli Tepe depicts a headless man who is associated with a bird (vulture?) directly to his left. A stone statue of a vulture (?), 50 cm long, was discovered in the village of Nevalı Çori, which is a few hundred years younger. The tradition appears to have lasted a few millennia, into the ceramic Neolithic. Murals from house 8 at Çatalhöyük, represented in successive layers VIII and VII, depict vultures tearing apart headless bodies.[24] The vultures' role in the burial rites must have accorded them special treatment and they must have been undoubtedly connected with magic symbolism. It cannot be excluded that these birds had their place in the beliefs of the times.

21 Cf. Goring-Morris 2000; Verhoeven 2002; Goring-Morris 2005; Goring-Morris – Kolska Horwitz 2007 with references.
22 For the Neolithic, there is common acceptance of some degree of social ranking, if often cross-cut by strong leveling or egalitarian processes, see Kuijt (ed.) 2000 for a full review of the debate. Recently, however, Özdoğan 2002 has pointed to several social differences between central Anatolia, including Çatalhöyük, and sites to the east in southeastern Anatolia and Upper Mesopotamia. He states that in central Anatolia there is less craft specialization and little in the way of specialized ritual.
23 Hodder – Cessford 2004: 30.
24 Mellaart 1964: 61ff.; 1967: 169. So far, only two headless skeletons have been excavated by the Hodder project at Çatalhöyük: skeleton (1466) in grave F.29, Building 1, and skeleton (4593) in grave F.492, Building 6. In both decapitation burials it is inferred that the heads were removed after burial. See Hodder – Cessford 2004: 35; Andrews – Molleson – Boz 2005: 267ff.; Cessford 2007: 504ff.; Farid 2007: 274f.

The head was identified with a man's personality, hence the special treatment of the skull. In one such burial from Cafer Höyük, the facial part of the skull was coated with plaster. The custom of whitewashing the bones or painting them with red ocher and more seldom with green or blue pigments — perhaps the strongest evidence for secondary burial — has been recorded at many Neolithic sites. During excavations at Çatalhöyük in 1961–1963 and 1965, James Mellaart found 21 skeletons painted with ocher, mainly in the older layers (XI–VI) of the settlement from the first half of the seventh millennium BC (out of a total of 480 burials discovered in layers XI–I). Kauri shells were placed in the eye sockets of one of the female burials.[25] There is no clue so far as to why only selected individuals were accorded special treatment after death.

The skull separated from the rest of the skeleton played an important role in ancestor cult.[26] Skulls could be buried separately or else they could literally accompany the living villagers in their everyday existence. Similarly as in the Levant, in Nahal Hemar[27] or Jericho for example, they could be deposited a few or a dozen or so together. In the Skull House at Çayönü Tepesi (see below) some scores of skulls placed together stand in confirmation of the dead being treated as if they constituted a community. Eight skulls were buried under the floor of one of the houses in layer 3 at Nevalı Çori. Also from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic layers at Hacılar there are skulls buried beneath the floors or else placed on the floor, often nearby a hearth. At Çatalhöyük, a grave in house 42 from layer V, discovered in 2004, contained a complete skeleton 'holding in its arms' a white-plastered skull.[28] At Köşk Höyük near Bor southwest of Niğde, five plastered skulls were found to date in layer 3 of the late Neolithic,[29] including a child's skull covered with white plaster and painted red,[30] which was buried under the floor of one of the houses, and another one covered with red plaster which lay on the floor; its eye sockets had been inlaid with black stones.[31] These finds, as well as the said female burial from Çatalhöyük with

25 For another secondary burials from Çatalhöyük, excavated by the Hodder project in Building 1, see Cessford 2007: 449, 469.
26 See now Meskell 2008: 375ff. with references.
27 Bar-Yosef 1985; Bar-Yosef – Alon 1988.
28 Cf. Meskell 2008: 380.
29 Öztan 2002: 57; Schoop 2005: 116.
30 Silistreli 1991a; 1991b.
31 Silistreli 1991a.

kauri shells in the eye sockets, bring to mind the skulls with faces modeled in plaster from several sites of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B period in Syro-Palestine, including Jericho,[32] Beysamoun,[33] 'Ain Ghazal,[34] Tell Aswad,[35] and Tell Ramad. At the last mentioned site (layer I), clay figurines of headless human bodies had been deposited together with the skulls, possibly intended as supports for mounting the skulls.[36] Similarly at Tell Aswad and Mureybet, the skulls were placed on clay supports.[37] Links with the Levant (Nahal Hemar) are also evidenced by the stone face masks known from Göbekli Tepe and Nevalı Çori.[38] The Anatolian finds are undoubtedly part of the same ancestor ritual tradition sometimes referred to as 'skull worship.'[39]

The Skull House from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic site of Çayönü Tepesi is commonly believed to be a sanctuary of this kind of cult.[40] It functioned for a long time and was rebuilt a number of times in successive phases of the village. In one of the phases, the house measured c. 10 by 8 m and consisted of a row of three rooms preceded by a paved yard. In the rooms, more than 70 skulls had been deposited. A large flat stone in the corner of the yard may have acted as an altar; the excavators reported evidence of blood sacrifices which took place on this stone.[41] It was also thought to be the place where the corpse was prepared. The context of the find suggests a form of worship addressed to a community of the villagers' ancestors.

At other Neolithic sites, too, the findspots of skulls and their position leave little doubt as to a ritual context of the finds. One noteworthy discovery is a set of four skulls found *in situ* on the floor of room E VII 21 in Çatalhöyük. Two had been placed, one each, below bucrania mounted on the east and west walls of the room, and the remaining two were found under a wall painting of vultures.[42] Detached

32 Strouhal 1973; Goren – Segal 1995.
33 Ferembach – Lechevallier 1973.
34 Rollefson 1983; Simmons – Boulton – Butler – Kafafi – Rollefson 1990; Griffin – Grissom – Rollefson 1998; Rollefson – Schmandt-Besserat – Rose 1999.
35 Stordeur 2003; Stordeur – Khawam 2007.
36 de Contenson 1992: 187f.; 2000: 56.
37 de Contenson 1992. According to Cauvin 2000b: 247, "these are a kind of cult object intended to be visible ... to the living."
38 Bar-Yosef 2003.
39 Bienert 1991; cf. also Cauvin 2000b: 247, and now Kuijt 2008.
40 Cf. Haas 1994a: 46; Sharp Joukowsky 1996: 78; Cauvin 2000b: 246.
41 Özbek 1988; Loy – Wood 1989.
42 Mellaart 1967: 103, Fig. 83.

human skulls were found also in Building 17 and Building 3 during Ian Hodder's recent excavations at the site.[43]

Forms of ancestor cult changed in later periods due to social transformation leading to the breakup of the original community into smaller tribes and families, further differentiated by rank and economic status. It is still too early to say whether these changes started already in the later Neolithic or did not begin until the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age (see 1.2).

In speaking of the earliest cult places from Asia Minor, it is inevitable to mention the rectangular stone structures with rounded corners which the societies inhabiting the limestone plateau in the vicinity of modern Urfa were continuously constructing on Göbekli Tepe for more than fifteen hundred years, from the middle of the tenth through the beginning of the eighth millennium BC. The excavators interpreted these structures as the earliest known sanctuaries of ancestor cult. They used to be built at a time when grain had yet to be domesticated and animals had not yet began to be herded; the economy of the people who built them depended mostly on hunting and intensive selected gathering of wild cereal grasses. Of the 24 structures identified to date, four have been excavated, their diameters ranging from 10 to 30 m. The outer walls incorporated monolithic pillars, each 10–20 tons in weight. Inside there were free-standing T-shaped monoliths. Some had hands marked on them, indicating that they were supposed to represent stylized human figures. The biggest monoliths were 7 m tall and one, found unfinished in a nearby quarry, weighed 50 tons. The moving of such huge blocks for any distance required concerted effort of a whole community. The monoliths were carved in flat relief with images of lions, bulls, foxes, gazelles, serpents and birds, all of which have parallels in the relief depiction of scorpions and serpents, dated to the same period, from Jerf al-Ahmar on the eastern bank of the Euphrates already on the Syrian side of the modern border.[44] Moreover, the excavations at Göbekli brought to light a sculpted image of a boar carved in stone. Another statue showed a predator with a human head between its paws. Nonetheless, it will take more digging and study before it becomes clear whether the dead were buried inside these structures.

43 Stevanovic – Tringham 1999.
44 Stordeur – Helmer – Wilcox 1997.

A building uncovered at Nevalı Çori appears to refer to the same tradition. It stood in the same spot during three successive phases of the early farming village. In the middle phase, a bench ran around the walls of the almost square room which covered an area of 81 m^2. The bench, which had a topping of stone slabs, was one meter wide and had monolithic piers decorated with relief scenes incorporated into it at regular intervals. The back wall held a niche which was c. 2 m wide and contained a platform for the statues that were found reused in the walls of the building from the last phase. The interior of this building was not unlike that from the earlier period. Ten stone piers stood alongside the bench which ran against the walls of the chamber with two additional pillars standing in the entrance. A limestone statue was erected in the niche opposite the door; the body of this statue, some 40 cm high, has been preserved along with the nose, eyes and necklace. Other sculptures appear to have represented a man-bird, vulture (?), bear and predatory cat (leopard ?). A few stone heads found in this room are to be interpreted in the context of similar finds from the PPNB in Syro-Palestine, including 'Ain Mallaha and the El-Wad cave on Mount Karmel.[45] They are presumed to have a connection with the skull worship described above.

There were at least three rectangular stone stelae inside the room. They were about 3 m tall originally and like the T-shaped monoliths from Göbekli Tepe and Karahan Tepe, they must have been symbolic images of either men or gods. The best preserved one was decorated with a flat relief depicting arms terminating in hands with well marked fingers. According to the excavators, a head of limestone had once graced the top of this stela. A similar discovery was made in the so-called channel house with a terrazzo floor at Çayönü Tepesi (layer II). One of the two stelae from this structure had a human face carved in it in flat relief. Three big slabs were set up as stelae also in the so-called flagstone-building.

Research at Göbekli Tepe, Nevalı Çori and Çayönü Tepesi has contributed the earliest evidence of stela worship, a form of cult widespread in Palestine, Syria, northern Mesopotamia and Asia Minor until the first millennium BC. Finds from southeastern Asia Minor have brought new light to bear on the origins of this cult. The sculptures recovered at Göbekli Tepe, Nevalı Çori and Çayönü Tepesi are part

45 Cf. Haas 1994a: 52.

of a wider cultural phenomenon during the PPNB. More limestone statues have now turned up in the Taurus foothills, e.g., in Kilisik in the vicinity of Adıyaman,[46] and in Urfa.[47] Their counterparts in the Levant are the plaster-and-reed large-scale statues, mostly busts and standing figures (sometimes with two heads), like those from Jericho[48] and 'Ain Ghazal,[49] solidly dated to the seventh millennium BC. The modeling and manner of decoration of the heads resemble the skulls with faces modeled in plaster. It is not known whether the cult of stelae was connected with ancestor worship in this early period, as is commonly assumed; perhaps the stelae and statues are a witness to the birth of the gods and early forms of their anthropomorphization reflected in these statues and relief stelae.[50] The answer to this question does not lie, unfortunately, with yet another stela with schematic facial features in relief, discovered in one of the houses at Hacılar layer VI of the late Neolithic.[51] Significantly, excavators have been unable to identify any places for making sacrifices in the above-described structures.

Neither have they discovered such places in any of the more than 40 units from layers VII and VI of the village in Çatalhöyük, which James Mellaart interpreted as 'shrines,' distinguishing them from 'houses,' in view of their interior architecture and the small finds.[52] The point is that they were architecturally no different than the neighboring houses. Moreover, there is clear evidence that even the most elaborate of 'shrines' contained a wide range of activities associated with food preparation, consumption, obsidian working, bone tool production, etc. All buildings acted as domestic houses with varying degrees of symbolic elaboration.[53]

The houses were the foci of art and ritual.[54] The walls of the dominant, more elaborate houses had gypsum plaster mouldings and paintings, both of which were refreshed on several occasions. Bull's and ram's heads with prominent horns were

46 Hauptmann 2000.
47 Hauptmann 2003.
48 Goren – Segal 1995.
49 Grissom 2000 with references.
50 Cf. Cauvin 2000a; 2000b: 240ff.
51 Mellaart 1961: Pl. Vd; cf. Haas 1994a: Fig. 20.
52 Mellaart 1967: 77ff. See, however, Cutting 2005: 164: "Recent excavations have shown that Mellaart's interiors were likely to have been composites of several occupation stages rather than snapshots in time, making the ranking of buildings by richness of decoration unreliable."
53 Hodder – Cessford 2004: 21.
54 Last 1998; 2005.

frequent motifs, either present in the wall decoration or mounted on clay benches. The heads were painted red at times in symbolization of the vital forces. Prevalent among the moulded decoration are representations of animals, mostly bulls, but also leopards depicted antithetically, she-bears(?),[55] mountain goats, and deer. The male figure is not present in the mouldings, but female motifs have been recorded. In one of the 'shrines,' a woman giving birth was depicted above three bucrania. Female breasts are accorded the same symbolic meaning. Some had boar's mandibles or the skulls of vultures, foxes and weasels concealed under a layer of stucco, obviously bearing a magic-symbolic import in this context. Mellaart was of the opinion that neither the themes nor the position of particular motifs on the walls were accidental.[56] He found that scenes connected with death were always on the east and north walls where the dead were buried, while motifs connected with birth occupied the opposite, west wall. Bulls were presented solely on the north wall.[57]

Numerous murals depicting ritualized hunting by a large group of humans can be linked to hunting magic. The painting from the north wall of room V 1 shows a dominant figure of a wild bull surrounded by hunters and dancers dressed in animal skins.[58] The small figure of a jumper on the bull's back immediately brings to mind numerous bull-leaping scenes from Crete, Syria and Egypt of the second millennium BC. A representation on an Old Hittite relief vase discovered at Hüseyindede in 1998 indicates that bull-leaping was known also in Anatolia; moreover, it testifies to a later connection of bull games with the cult of storm-gods (see 3.1.3).

As said above, paintings of vultures and headless bodies were connected with burial rites and ancestor cult, in similarity to the human skulls found in some of the rooms. Other images, like the scene of a volcano erupting,[59] probably refer to real events, although a mythological implication cannot be ruled out.

55 Hodder 2005: 20; Türckan 2005; cf. also Meskell – Nakamura – King – Farid 2008: 141.
56 Cf. Last 2005: 200: "The relative scarcity even of simple designs suggests that paintings were of great symbolic importance, appropriate only to certain occasions or spaces."
57 Mellaart 1967: 108; cf. also Hodder – Cessford 2004: 23f.
58 Mellaart 1966: Pls LIV, LVIIb, LVIII; 1967: Fig. 171.
59 It was claimed to show Hasan Dağ, the distinctive double-peaked volcano, Mellaart 1967: 177, Pls 59–60. According to Meece (2006), however, the painting depicts no volcano, but a leopard skin above a panel of geometric design.

The mouldings and wall paintings from Çatalhöyük emphasize the female (woman's figure, breasts) and male (bulls, bull's and ram's heads) elements in the context of birth, life and death. At the same time, they refer to the world in the wild (leopards, she-bears(?), deer, mountain goats, hunting scenes).[60] Their symbolism lies undoubtedly in the sphere of protective magic, which is even more recognizable in the case of some other symbols and signs, like the red or black hands on the reliefs and the bull's and ram's heads, occasionally arranged in a few regular rows on the walls of a house.[61]

Clay and stone figurines representing animals and humans, mostly women, have been found in large numbers at many Pre-Pottery Neolithic sites,[62] but iconographic types were first recognized among the stone and clay anthropomorphic figurines excavated at Çatalhöyük.[63] The bulk of the figurines represent steatopygous females, among which two iconographic types can be distinguished: a young woman and a mature matron giving birth. Some hold up their breasts in a gesture known from later representations of a naked goddess from various regions of the Ancient Near East. The type representing a woman giving birth, shown either squatting or sitting, is evidenced in various iconographic variants: either holding the breasts or placing hands on thighs, while the body is decorated with a painted ornament which sometimes resembles a leopard skin.

The best known is a figure of a woman giving birth, seated on a throne between two leopards and resting her feet on a skull.[64] By this, she is revealed as a mistress of life from birth to death, ruling over the wild beasts as well. Worthy of notice is also a unique female figurine, holding up full breasts and with a prominent belly (pregnant?), while the back depicts an articulated skeleton with a modeled spinal column, a pelvis and scapulae that project above shoulders, and individual ribs

60 For animal representations, see Russell – Meece 2005: 211, Table 14.1 (paintings), 215, Table 14.2 (mouldings), 219, Tables 14.3 & 4 (animal-part installations).

61 Mellaart 1967: 91.

62 Cf., e.g., stone figurines from Mezraa-Teleilat, Özdoğan 2003.

63 Hamilton (1996) identified 254 figurines from Mellaart's old excavations; cf. also Voigt 2000: 276ff. 526 figurines came from Hodder's current excavations until 1999; see Hamilton 2005. Meskell – Nakamura – King – Farid (2008: 143) mention some 1966 examples found up till the end of the 2006 season, of which 61 are stone, only 3.1 per cent.

64 Mellaart 1964: 93, 95, Fig. 31f.; 1967: Pl. IX.67–68.

depicted through diagonal scoring.[65] Two other figurines show the Mistress of Animals standing next to a leopard. Similar images of women of various age – giving birth, supporting breasts, sitting on a leopard or between two cats, cuddling children or small leopards – were discovered at Hacılar layer VI, which was contemporary with the fall of the village at Çatalhöyük.[66] All the Hacılar anthropomorphic figurines were made of baked clay.

Female figurines underwent schematization already in the terminal phases of the Neolithic. Simplified representations of females holding up their breasts, seated, kneeling or squatting, known from, among others, Höyücek near Lake Burdur west of Bucak[67] and Çamharman near Yalvaç, are recognized as prototypes of the violin-shaped idols of the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age (see 1.2).

While much less frequent in the plastic arts of Çatalhöyük, male figures also represent a few iconographic types: a bearded man sitting on a bull, a youth riding a leopard, an enthroned male figure with a headdress that appears to have been made of a leopard skin.

Unlike the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age anthropomorphic figurines which frequently made up the grave goods inventory, the figurines from Çatalhöyük and Hacılar were found inside rooms, occasionally near hearths. Indeed, at Çatalhöyük only one marble figurine of a woman holding up her breasts, discovered in 2004 in Building 42 of level VII, appears to have been placed intentionally in a grave.[68] The use and meaning of these figurines is not clear as yet. Some scholars are even apt to interpret these pieces as representations of deities,[69] while others attribute to them a solely magic function. There is a number of possible interpretations, but

65 Cf. Hodder 2005: 21: "Perhaps the importance of female imagery was related to some special role of the female in relation to death as much as to the roles of mother and nurturer." See also Meskell 2008: 382f.

66 See now Schoop 2005: 154 with references.

67 Excavations at Höyücek yielded a considerable assemblage of "mother goddess figurines and idols of baked clay," Duru 1999: 178f. & Figs 22ff. Cf. also Sharp Joukowsky 1996: 103; Schoop 2005: 168.

68 Yıldırım – Gates 2007: 280.

69 Mellaart 1962: 57; 1963a: 82ff.; 1964: 73ff.; 1967: 76ff.; 1990. Mellaart (1970: 170) speculated that the female statuettes from Çatalhöyük and Hacılar VI show the full range of aspects of the goddess worshiped in Neolithic Anatolia: "... the maiden, the mature matron, the pregnant mother, a full-breasted nursing mother, the mother with her child and the Mistress of Animals, the goddess of nature and wild life." Mellaart's 'deity' interpretation met with broader acceptance; see, e.g., Urbin-Choffray 1987; Voigt 1991; 2000.

I agree with Naomi Hamilton that "these do not include their use in organized religion. Rather, the anthropomorphic figurines are likely to have been used for magical, non religious ritual and/or votive sources."[70] Their depositional context supports the idea that all figurines, including the anthropomorphic ones, "were circulated rather than kept and guarded (...) they may have operated not in some separate sphere of 'religion' or 'ancestor worship' but, rather, in the practice and negotiation of everyday life."[71] Some of them could also have been used as amulets, a suggestion borne out by the later development of anthropomorphic art in the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age.

1.2. Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age

In the last 3500 years of its prehistory, archaeologically subdivided into the Chalcolithic (c. 5700–3100 BC) and the Early Bronze Age (c. 3100–2000 BC),[72] Asia Minor witnessed important social changes, undoubtedly reflected in the inhabitants' beliefs and their attitude toward the dead. Progressing social stratification led to a gradual development of a ruling class which included priests. Architecturally distinct ruler's residences started to be located, like temples as houses of the gods, on hills in the highest part of a town. It seems, however, that in western, southern and central Anatolia, unlike the centers on the Upper Euphrates (Arslantepe-Malatya, see below), in Mesopotamia and Syria, sanctuaries traditionally formed part of a dwelling complex until the end of the third millennium BC. Separate sacral buildings did not begin to be erected before the second millennium BC. Among the earliest are two temples from the Assyrian Colony period in Cappadocia, excavated in the palace complex at Kültepe/Kaneš, 21 km northeast of Kayseri (see 2.1).

Intensified urbanization processes in Anatolia during the Early Bronze Age led to the emergence of a system of city-states governed by local rulers and this caused change in the local pantheons. New population groups – the Indo-Europeans – may have started streaming into Anatolia from the Balkans already in the Chalcolithic. The arrival of the native speakers of Common Anatolian (who afterwards, over

70 Hamilton 2005: 208. For a broader discussion, see Lesure 2002.
71 Meskell – Nakamura – King – Farid 2008: 144.
72 For the chronology of Early Bronze Age Anatolia, see now Becker 2007: 93 Fig. 43.

a long period of time, would differentiate and split up into three separate ethnolinguistic entities: Hittites, Palaians and Luwians[73]) changed the ethnic situation in the western, southern and central part of the peninsula, but without written sources it is impossible to say anything about the gods worshiped during this period. It can be assumed, however, that many of the divinities known from Cappadocian (2.1) and Hittite (3.1 & 2) texts from the second millennium BC made up the local pantheons of central and northern Anatolia already in the later phase of the Early Bronze Age.

Social stratification was reflected also in a differentiated status of the dead. A community of ancestors stopped being worshiped by all inhabitants of the village. The dead became instead part of the family whose living members were required to officiate at their cult. The fates of the ruler and the ordinary person after death were different. These changes were reflected in the funerary rites and forms of burial. Cemeteries located outside the settlements, veritable 'towns of the dead' with social stratification occasionally reflected in their topography, appeared in western Anatolia as early as the Chalcolithic. They are also known from central and northern Anatolia starting from EB III (c. 2300/2200–2000 BC), although in these regions the custom of burying the dead beneath house floors lasted until the beginning of the second millennium BC. The dead therefore stopped being present among the living. Differences in grave goods also became more pronounced. Very wealthy 'royal tombs' are evidenced on the Upper Euphrates already in the final phase of the late Chalcolithic, while in western and central Anatolia they occur but in the EB III period.

One of the houses from the Chalcolithic village of layer II at Hacılar was recognized as a sanctuary because of the rich equipment composed of clay figurines and pottery decorated with motifs of ritual significance. A stone stela, placed in a painted niche in the wall of the main room, may have been an object of cult.[74] The interpretation of a find from Chalcolithic Gözlükule near Tarsus in Cilicia poses more difficulties. A piece of a stone pillar (stela?) lay on the floor of one of the rooms and next to it was a pair of deer antlers and pottery fragments.[75]

73 See, e.g., Stefanini 2002: 787 with n. 7, and Carruba 2003 for a review of the debate.
74 Mellaart 1960: 100ff.; cf. Popko 1995a: 36; Sharp Joukowsky 1996: 121.
75 Goldman 1956: 5f.

An imposing 'ceremonial' building XXIX from Period VII at Arslantepe-Malatya, c. 3600–3500 BC, measured on the whole 20.7 by 19 m.[76] It has a tripartite plan with a large central room (17.6 by 7 m) resembling Mesopotamian temples, although its cultural context shows no links to the southern Mesopotamian world.[77] The building stood in isolation on a raised platform, about fifty centimeters high. Two later temples, forming part of a palatial complex (Building IV) from Period VIA, are dated to the end of the late Chalcolithic. Both display very similar floor plans. Temple B, measuring 12 m in length, has a large extended rectangular room flanked by small rooms along one side. It was windowed with wooden frames still preserved. In the cella there was a niche with wall paintings in red and black, which represented a frontal figure with a stylized triangular human face, eyes and a rectangular body, seated on a bench or throne below what appears to be a canopy of branches. In front of the figure was a so-called fruit stand with a perforated base, which in this context might be interpreted as a cult object. Moreover, an altar was identified for the first time with certainty in this temple.[78]

Many structures discovered at Early Bronze Age sites have been interpreted as shrines, based foremost on the equipment which consists of anthropomorphic figurines and vessels. Mentioned most often in this context are tower R in the southern gate of Troy I (where stone stelae were discovered, one with a carved human face),[79] the 'shrines' from successive phases of Troy (II, III and Vb),[80] from phase B in Kusura[81] and layer 9 M at Alişar Höyük,[82] the megaron from layer 12 of the Kültepe mound,[83] and the shrines from layers XI and X–VIII at Pulur on the Upper Euphrates[84] (where altars were identified, as in the Hall Complex at nearby Korucutepe[85]). But unlike the Mesopotamian and Syrian temples from the same period, the Anatolian ones (possibly with the exception of the megaron in Kültepe) were not distinguished

76 Frangipane 2003: 154ff., Figs 4 & 5.
77 Cf. Frangipane 2003: 157: "Arslantepe period VII pottery, for example, has its own formal features, with nothing in common with Early or Middle Uruk pottery."
78 Gates 1994: 254f.; Frangipane 1997; 2003: 154, 158, Figs 4 & 6; cf. also Sharp Joukowsky 1996: 178.
79 Cf. Mellaart 1959b: 134; Sharp Joukowsky 1996: 149, 150 Fig. 5.5.
80 Mellaart 1959b: 152; cf. also Popko 1995a: 41.
81 Lamb 1956: 89, Pl. Va; 1973: 28.
82 Schmidt 1932: 33ff., 90.
83 Cf. Lloyd 1967: 40, Fig. 34. See also Mellink 1958: 93f.; 1963: 175f.
84 Koşay 1970; 1971.
85 van Loon – Güterbock 1972; van Loon (ed.) 1978: 20ff.

in any way from the surrounding architecture. In most cases, they presumably represented domestic cults.

The best evidence of cult has been recorded in the shrines which constituted an integral part of the village architecture from layers XVII–XIV at Beycesultan. Two twin shrines were discovered in successive phases.[86] Each was composed of a main chamber and a small adjacent room. The most important element of the altar on the east side of the room was a double clay stela covered with a layer of plaster. In front of it there was a hearth with a characteristic pot-stand in the form of horns and behind it, vessels or clay basins sunk into the floor. The excavators interpreted a hole in the floor in front of the stelae as a place for a wooden pole. The structure with an outlet channel, situated by the north wall, was interpreted as an altar for blood sacrifices. The shrines yielded numerous violin-shaped idols of stone and votive vessels. But contrary to what can be read in the literature,[87] there is absolutely no evidence for a pair of deities, a goddess and her male partner, having been worshiped here.

The most important testimony of domestic cult found at many sites are naturalistic and schematic female statuettes, as well as anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels known already from the late Neolithic, e.g., from layer VI at Hacılar and Köşk Höyük.[88] Vessels of this kind from the Early Bronze Age have been recorded at Troy starting from layer II,[89] as well as Demircihöyük near Eskişehir, Karahöyük in the Konya Plain,[90] and Alişar Höyük near Yozgat. Mentions of similar vessels in Hittite texts from the second millennium BC lead to the assumption that they were used in cult practices also in earlier times.

The tradition of small anthropomorphic statuary in Anatolia goes back to the Neolithic. Female imagery predominates; male figures do not occur before the EB III period. Among nearly 1000 anthropomorphic statuettes known to date from the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age,[91] the biggest number is schematic, the most typical shape being the so-called violin-shaped idols from western Anatolia and the EB III

86 Lloyd – Mellaart 1957; 1962: 37; Yakar 1974; cf. also Sharp Joukowsky 1996: 158f.
87 See n. 86.
88 Greaves – Helwing 2003: 80 (vessel in the shape of a deer's head); Schoop 2005: 118; Yıldırım – Gates 2007: 280 (an anthropomorphic pot).
89 Cf. Sharp Joukowsky 1996: 154ff.
90 Mellaart 1963b: 216, fig. 10.
91 Bilgi 1972. See now Makowski 2005 with references.

Cappadocian alabaster idols with discoid bodies and with one to four heads set on long necks. The figurines are found usually in houses, also in buildings interpreted as shrines, e.g. at Beycesultan and in the megaron at Kültepe, often in assemblages counting from a few to a dozen or so objects, which could suggest their magic function or role in domestic cult. There is no evidence, however, to indicate that they represented the mother goddess. The arms of some of the naturalistic statuettes could be interpreted as raised in adoration. Schematic figures were also included among the grave goods, perhaps as amulets. It is possible that the Cappadocian idols with a number of heads were meant to replace a number of figurines. There is nothing to substantiate the claim that they represented family groups. On the other hand, relief figural representations on the bodies of some of the idols, like a man with a tame lion, suggest that this category of finds represents divine images. Bronze figurines from wealthy graves in Kültepe, Hasanoğlan and Horoztepe are also believed to represent a goddess. The custom of placing anthropomorphic statuettes in graves ended in the first centuries of the second millennium BC.

Burial rites are significantly different between regions in the Early Bronze Age. In central Anatolia the tradition of burying the dead beneath the floors of houses lasted until the end of the discussed period even while cemeteries outside the towns sprang up in other areas of the region. Burial forms also demonstrate considerable differentiation. In the west and southwest (Yortan,[92] Babaköy,[93] Başpınar, Kusura, Gordion, Demircihöyük-Sarıket,[94] Karataş Semayük[95]), as well as on the Upper Euphrates (Korucutepe), the prevailing form of burial was a large storage vessel. In many cemeteries these vessel burials occurred together with cist graves, which dominated in the estuary of the Kızılırmak (İkiztepe[96]) and on the Aegean coast of Karia (Iasos[97]).

While disregarding the two earliest examples of cremation from Chalcolithic layers at Mersin in Cilicia, which are explainable as influence of the Mesopotamian Halaf culture,[98] one should note numerous cremation burials in urns in the Early Bronze Age cemetery of Gedikli in Gaziantep province where they occurred side by side with

92 Kamil 1982.
93 Bittel 1939–1941.
94 Seeher – Jansen – Pernicka – Wittwer-Backofen 2000.
95 Wheeler 1974; cf. Sharp Joukowsky 1996: 163.
96 B. Alkım – H. Alkım – Bilgi 1988; cf. also Mellink 1987: 4; 1988: 107.
97 Pecorella 1984.
98 Akkermans 1989: 81; cf. Popko 1995a: 37.

inhumation graves.[99] In the second millennium BC, cremation spread throughout Anatolia, never however superseding completely inhumation burials. In many cultures, cremation was understood as a way of moving the dead and his or her property to the other world. Even so, a difference in burial rites does not mean change of eschatological beliefs or forms of ancestor cult. Neither is it testimony for the coexistence of various ethnic groups. Cases of cremation burials being added to earlier inhumation graves of the second millennium BC in the cemeteries of Panaztepe near Izmir, Beşiktepe in Troas and Demircihöyük-Sarıket near Eskişehir make it clear that the dead were members of the same community, distinguished from other members by the ritual of cremation, thus ensuring a special, privileged position also after death.[100] Ethnographic parallels from different cultures and regions point to very different criteria existing in this case, most often, however, cremation was intended as a form of distinction for rulers, priests, the rich and the elders. In the light of this it comes as no surprise that cremation was the practice of choice for the Hittite royal family of the Empire period (see 3.2.10).

A Late Chalcolithic chamber tomb from Arslantepe-Malatya with a rich collection of metal objects, jewelry, weapons, and vessels made from copper, silver, and gold,[101] as well as two EB III 'royal tombs' in Dorak, on Lake Ulubat west of Bursa,[102] and another thirteen single and double burials from Alacahöyük, c. 25 km north of the Hittite capital Ḫattuša (modern Boğazkale),[103] show social and political transformation in Anatolia of the discussed period. The wealth of the equipment in these graves of local rulers is in contrast with the paucity of grave goods accompanying ordinary burials from the same period, indicating that the ruler's fate after death was different from that of the subjects. Yet, nothing in the grave goods inventory can be interpreted as actually connected with cult practices. The so-called standards from Alacahöyük have been mentioned in this connection; these are metal finials in the form of disks and openwork elements bearing ornamental motifs, as well as animal images – bulls, deer and leopards. Similar standards have been found

99 Alkım 1966; 1968: 94ff.
100 Seeher 1993.
101 Greaves – Helwing 2001: 477.
102 Schachermeyr 1959–1960; Lloyd 1967: 29ff.
103 Lloyd 1956: 96ff.; Mellink 1956: 39ff.; Sharp Joukowsky 1996: 167f. See now also Özyar 1999; Gerber 2006a; 2006b.

also in tombs from other sites in central Anatolia (Balıbağı near Çankırı, Horoztepe,[104] Oymaağaç near Çorum,[105] Mahmatlar near Amasya[106]). Their function continues to be unclear. According to Maciej Popko, "the standards were indeed the finials of cult staffs which are well attested in later Hittite texts, both as symbols of deities belonging to the northern, Hattian religious tradition and as cult objects."[107] If so, the dead buried in the graves at Alacahöyük would not be local rulers, but rather representatives of the local priestly aristocracy from the holy town of Ziplanda.[108] The theory, however, cannot be verified for lack of written sources from this period.

Archaeological testimony of burial rites and sacrifices made to the dead is rare. Pairs of skulls and hooves of oxen, lying originally on the beams covering the graves at Alacahöyük, can be traces of the former.[109] One should also mention in this context a few burials of pairs of oxen from the cemetery at Demircihöyük-Sarıket near Eskişehir.[110] Local burial customs are proven for the region around modern-day Ankara, as indicated by round structures with a rectangular vestibule known from the cemeteries in the region (Polatlı, Etiyokuşu), possibly acting as funerary shrines.[111] Early Bronze Age chamber tomb complexes at Gre Virike, c. 10 km to the north of Karkamiš, with chamber rows attached to them indicating a complex structure for the cult of the dead,[112] should be considered in the context of similar tomb complexes on the Middle Euphrates and in northern Syria from the second half of the third millennium BC (Jerablus-Tahtani, Tell Banat, Tell Ahmar, Tall Bi'a, Tell Chuera).[113]

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104 T. Özgüç – Akok 1958; Tezcan 1960; T. Özgüç 1964.
105 T. Özgüç 1980.
106 Koşay – Akok 1950.
107 Popko 1995a: 45f.
108 For the identification of Alacahöyük with Ziplanda, see Popko 1994: 13, 29ff., 90f.; 2000; cf. also Haas 1994a: 591ff. However, a location of Ziplanda farther to the north or northeast, closer to the basin of the Zuliya/Çekerek river, appears more likely. The testimony of Hittite texts confirming a small distance between Ziplanda and centers in the Zuliya basin, such as Katapa (cf. 3.2.3) probably not too far to the northeast from Ortaköy / Šapinuwa, argues against the identification of Ziplanda with Kuşaklı Höyük, Yozgat (Gurney 1995; Forlanini 2002: 261 with n. 18), or with Çadır Höyük near Alişar (Gorny 2006: 30).
109 Cf. Haas 1994a: 234.
110 Seeher 1991; Seeher – Jansen – Pernicka – Wittwer-Backofen 2000; cf. also Willeitner 1992: 314.
111 Lloyd – Gökçe 1951; cf. Popko 1995a: 43f.
112 Ökse 2006a; 2006b; 2006c; 2007.
113 Cf. McClellan 2004.

2. The Old Assyrian Colony Period

From the outset of the second millennium BC Anatolia (or at least its central and southeastern parts) enters upon historic times enlighten by written sources. Much more is known about the beliefs of this period: the origins and names of prominent deities, their nature, the pantheon structure and its development, and the forms of cult. Most of the information comes from written sources, much less from archaeological evidence.

The arrival of Mesopotamian merchants in Anatolia is confirmed by their documents in the first half of the twentieth century BC. A settlement of Assyrian traders (*kārum*) appeared in the lower city of Kültepe/Kaneš and functioned in two phases: *kārum* II and Ib.[114] Corresponding occupation on the hill (*höyük*), where the local ruler resided, included layers 8 (= *kārum* II) and 7 (= *kārum* Ib).[115] Of nearly 23,000 tablets found to date in the *kārum* of Kaneš, only some 400 came from Level Ib, while the rest were excavated in Level II.[116] The texts confirm that the network of Assyrian colonies (*kārum*) and stations (*wabartum*) covered all of central Anatolia, reaching as far as the region of modern Ankara. One such Assyrian trading colony was situated at Ḫattuša, later capital of the Hittite kingdom (modern Boğazkale, c. 150 km as the crow flies east of Ankara).[117] The timeframe for this period at Kültepe/Kaneš is set by the Old Palace (Eski Saray)[118] built on the South Terrace after 2024 BC, which can be taken as a *terminus post quem* for Level II in the *kārum*.[119]

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114 T. Özgüç 2003. Cf. also Wilhelm 1998–2001c.
115 T. Özgüç 1999: 77.
116 Michel 2003.
117 More recent research has demonstrated that already at this time the town had extended beyond the limits of the Lower City. On the probable settling of the western part of the Upper City in Boğazköy/Ḫattuša in the *kārum* and early Old Hittite times, see, e.g., Seeher 2004: 72. In 2007 a cylinder seal of the later *kārum* phase was found at the foot of Sarıkale, confirming the existence of a settlement in this area in the discussed period (pers. comm. A. Schachner).
118 T. Özgüç 1999: 106ff.; 2003: 133ff.
119 Newton – Kuniholm 2004: 167.

The *kārum* II period is currently dated between c. 1974 and 1837 BC (or c. 1958 and 1821 BC in the so-called "lowered" middle chronology[120]) based on *limû* lists which have shown that this phase lasted 138 years.[121] The end of the *kārum* Level II has been attributed to the reign of the Assyrian king Naram-Sin on the evidence of the latest attested bullae with the name of this king found in this level.[122] The revival of the city and *kārum* at the beginning of the Level Ib period, presumably after the erection of the so-called Waršama Palace (Waršama Sarayı) in 1832 (+4/-7) BC,[123] is usually dated to c. 1800 BC, or c. 1785 BC in the "lowered" middle chronology. The end of this period came in c. 1720 BC.[124] Substantial architectural remains from Acemhöyük on Lake Tuz are contemporary with Level Ib of the *kārum* in Kaneš. Two major buildings, the Sarıkaya palace and the Hatipler Tepesi building, were constructed in the same year: 1774 (+4/-7) BC.[125]

A vast majority of the Cappadocian tablets – records of Assyrian merchants who ran trading colonies and stations in the largest towns of central Anatolia during the first quarter of the second millennium BC – come from Kültepe/Kaneš, which was at that time the capital of one of the most important states in the region. These texts speak of gods worshiped in Kaneš and, indirectly, of central Anatolian beliefs.

120 Michel – Rocher 1997–2000; Michel 2002; cf. also Blocher 2003; Pruzsinszky 2006; Veenhof 2007.
121 Veenhof 2003.
122 Özkan 1993.
123 T. Özgüç 1999: 79ff.; 2003: 120ff. For the date of the construction of the Waršama Palace, see Newton – Kuniholm 2004: 168.
124 Cf. Günbattı 2008: 118.
125 Newton – Kuniholm 2004: 168.

2.1. Kanesite gods in the light of the Cappadocian tablets

The theophoric names of the native inhabitants of Kaneš indicate that they worshiped gods of different origin: Luwian, Hittite, Hattian, and perhaps also from a local (pre-Indo-European) substrate.[126] There are among them storm-gods — Hattian Taru and Hittite Tarḫuna, Inar (who was the goddess of Ḫattuša) together with her companion Ḫaba(n)tali (see 3.1.1), the sacred mountain Daḫa(ya) connected with Ziplanda, the river Nakiliyat, the deities Ḫešta, Ḫuzziya and Tamešiet, Cappadocian and Kizzuwatnean mountains Liḫša, Šarpa[127] and Tutḫaliya, the Luwian Sun-god Tiwad, the god Šanta and goddess Ala worshiped in the same cultural milieu, and a group of deities occurring in later Hittite texts among Kanesite gods (see below): Ḫanaḫana 'Great Grandmother,' Peruwa (Pirwa), Ḫalki 'Grain,' Ašiet, Ilali(ya), and Ḫazamil (Ḫašam(m)ili).[128]

The Assyrians worshiped their own gods. In their social interaction with the Anatolians they remained open and mutually respectful of gods of the different communities. Contracts between the Assyrians and the Anatolians, often sworn before the ruler, used to call on both Aššur and a local deity as witness gods.

The pantheon of the Assyrians living in Kaneš was no different from that known from Assyria.[129] The deities occurring most often in the texts are: Aššur, the Storm-god Adad, the goddess Ištar, the Moon-god Sîn, Amurrum,[130] Anum, Ea, and Šamaš; more seldom Aššuritum, Belum, and the goddess Išḫara. These deities must have had shrines in Kaneš and the other Assyrian colonies in Anatolia. It was the

126 Goetze 1953; 1954; Laroche 1966a: 281ff., 298ff.; cf. also Popko 1995a: 55. On the (pre-)Indo-European substrates in Anatolia, see Carruba 1983 with references. Cf. also one interesting speech in an unknown language at the end of a ritual of the woman Anna of Kaplawiya, KUB 12.44 + KBo 27.108 iii 31ff. (Haas 1988d: 141 n. 64; Hutter 2003: 250), which shows that the Lower Land was inhabited not only by the Luwians, but by other people, too, also in the times of the Hittite Empire.
127 Arisama Dağ near the village of Emirgazi, cf. Hawkins 2006: 57f. For the mountain Šarpa, see Forlanini 1987; Lombardi 1998.
128 I wish to thank Dr. Guido Kryszat for making me available his list of personal names in Old Assyrian texts from Anatolia.
129 Hirsch 1972.
130 Kryszat 2006b; see also Beaulieu 2005. According to Kryszat (2006b: 53), however, „es ist unklar, ob "Amurrum" hier (i.e. in Old Assyrian texts) wirklich aus gleicher Sicht gesehen wird wie etwa in den südmesopotamischen Quellen."

ḫamrum[131] by the gate of the temple of Aššur in Kaneš where courts were held and official oaths taken on the sword of the god called *šugarriā'um* or *patrum*.

The local Kanesite pantheon cannot be fully reconstructed due to the restricted character of the preserved documents, mostly trade contracts of Assyrian merchants. However, the texts show differences between the pantheons of Level II and Ib which most likely reflect actual changes in the structure of the Kanesite pantheon during the two periods. The reasons for these changes cannot be determined: they might represent a natural development of the city-state pantheon, but they also could have derived from the changing political situation.

The following divinities are mentioned in texts from Level II, thus providing confirmation of their worship in this period: a solar deity concealed under the ideogram ^{D}UTU, most probably the Sun-god Tiwad, Anna, Nipaš, Ḫigiša, Nisaba, Ḫariḫari, Ilali, Kubabat, Parka, Per(u)wa, Tuḫtuḫani.[132] While there is no influence of the northern, Hattian tradition to note in this pantheon, it apparently reveals ties with southern Anatolia and even northern Syria (Nisaba, Kubabat). Most of the listed deities, however, (Anna?, Nipaš, Ḫigiša, Parka, Per(u)wa, Ḫariḫari, Tuḫtuḫani) must have been connected with an early central Anatolian substrate.[133] Some of them were worshiped in the land of Ḫatti as early as the Old Hittite period (Ḫariḫari), but they were more frequently the object of veneration in Luwian circles in Hittite times (Anna, Parka, Perwa).

Anna was the main deity of the city of Kaneš,[134] appearing next to Aššur as a divine witness in contracts between Assyrian merchants and their Anatolian partners.[135] She is presumably the bearer of epithets like 'goddess of the city' and 'goddess of Kaneš.' The king visited Anna's temple on the day of her festival which took place early in the year. Anna is mentioned in later Hittite texts[136] (like Perwa, whose sacred animal was a horse, and the harvest and fertility deity Parka) in connection with Luwian cults, among others, in the cult of Ḫuwaššanna of Ḫubešna (Classical Kybistra in Lycaonia, modern Ereğli) (see 3.2.4). Another important god of Kaneš

131 For the *ḫamrum*, see Schwemer 2001: 245ff.; Prechel 2008: 127f.
132 Kryszat 2006a: 106ff.
133 See above, with n. 126.
134 Kryszat 2006a: 108f., 117ff.
135 ICK I 32 10ff., Hecker – Kryszat – Matouš 1998: I 651 12'ff. See Kryszat 2006a: 109, 118.
136 Unless it is a homonymy.

was Nipaš[137] (missing in Hittite texts), whose festival came some time after that of Anna and was similarly celebrated by the ruler visiting the temple. Parka had her own festival which, assuming her nature in this period was like that in Hittite times, was celebrated presumably in the fall, after the harvest.[138]

Ḫariḫari and Tuḫtuḫani also had their festivals.[139] The former is probably to be identified with the deity Ḫaleḫare/Ḫaliḫari who had a ritual celebrated in her name in Old Hittite times during the great festival at Ziplanda (3.1.3). During the winter festival celebrated for the Sun-goddess of Arinna in Ḫattuša, the queen, in the presence of the king, poured a libation to Ḫaliḫari by the sacred bed in the Sun-goddess's bed chamber.[140] This leads to further associations between Ḫariḫari and the domestic deity Ḫarištašši of Hittite texts, who was a guardian of the granary and alcove and whom the queen sacrificed to sitting on the bed in her bed chamber.[141]

The Grain-goddess, whose Hittite name Ḫalki is evidenced in theophoric names, was worshiped in Kaneš throughout the Old Assyrian Colony period under the Mesopotamian name Nisaba (assuming it is not just a question of notation).[142] This could testify to early influence of Syro-Mesopotamian beliefs, similarly as in the case of the cult of the 'Storm-god of the Head' (^{D}IŠKUR *ŠA QAQQA/IDIM*),[143] Išḫara, and Kubabat who is identified with Kubaba, the goddess of the Syrian city of Karkamiš.

The Kanesite pantheon that is revealed in the texts from Level Ib obviously underwent transformation during the period between Level II and Ib. A Storm-god absent from the Level II documents stands at its head, eclipsing Anna in importance[144] and replacing her also as a witness god to contracts between Assyrian merchants and the local ruler.[145] The appearance of the Storm-god in the pantheon of Kaneš in the nineteenth-eighteenth century BC coincided with the development of worship of this category of gods in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, where they

137 Kryszat 2006a: 113f. There are no reasons, linguistic or otherwise, for linking the god's name with Hittite *nepiš*- 'sky.'
138 Cf. Otten 1959a; 1992: 34ff.
139 Kryszat 2006a: 110, 116.
140 KUB 2.6 ii 40f. Cf. Popko 2003b: 14f.
141 KBo 20.51 i 7'–9'. Haas 1994a: 261f. Cf. also Otten – von Soden 1968: 32; Otten 1972–1975a.
142 Kryszat 2006a: 114f., 121.
143 Kryszat 2006a: 120.
144 Kryszat 2006a: 106f.
145 kt 00/k 6 1, Günbattı 2004: 251ff.

took over the leading role in the official pantheons.[146] The prominent position of the Storm-god and Anna, divine guardian of the city, brings to mind the structure of the pantheon of Ḫattuša, where Anna's place is taken by the goddess Inar (see 3.1.1). The new dynasty from Kuššar[147] (of Pitḫana and Anitta), which seized power in Kaneš toward the end of the Level Ib period, imposed its own royal ideology, best expressed in Anitta's building of a temple for the Throne-goddess Ḫalmašuit. The rule of the later Old Hittite dynasty was based on similar ideology. Anitta erected another two temples, the first for the Storm-god of Heaven with the Hittite name Tarḫuna, divine patron of the king and dynasty, and the second for a deity of Kaneš, concealed under the designation *Šiuš-šummiš* 'Our Deity,'[148] whose statue, lost during an earlier conflict with Zalpa, he won back and brought to Kaneš. It cannot be excluded that the ruins of two temples excavated on the palatial hill in Kültepe/Kaneš and contemporary with Level Ib in the *kārum*, are actually the remains of Anitta's buildings.[149]

The distinct character of the Kanesite pantheon continued to be perceived even in Hittite times.[150] Kanesite gods received sacrifices during religious ceremonies and the 'singer of Kaneš/Neša' sang for them in Nesite,[151] which is how the Hittites referred to their own language. The deities whose names appear in this context include: Kamrušepa, Pirwa,[152] Ḫaššušara 'Queen,' Aškašepa 'Genius of the Gate,' Šuwaliyat, Ḫalki, Ḫašam(m)ili, Šiwat 'Day,' Išpant 'Night,' Aššiyat, Ilali(yant),[153] Maliya,

146 For a new discussion of this phenomenon, see Giorgieri 2005: 83ff. with references to earlier literature. The shift in importance of deities of the official pantheon, which took place in Kaneš (and probably also in other Anatolian centers, including Ḫattuša) in the early second millennium BC, places now the discussion in a broader context. Matthiae (2003), for instance, discusses the prominent position of Ištar in the pantheon of Ebla and her close connection with kingship before the king of Ebla recognized the predominance of Aleppo around 1770 BC. Consequently, the political predominance of Yamḫad would have been "at the origin of the strong presence of the figure of Hadad of Aleppo in works of Ebla related with kingship, dating from the 17th century BC." (Matthiae 2003: 385). See also below, 3.1.1 with n. 238.

147 The Old Assyrian texts suggest an easterly location for Kuššar(a), in the proximity of Ḫurrama, Luḫuzattiya, and Šamuḫa; see Barjamovic 2005: 139ff.

148 Otten 1959a: 180; 1973: 35; Singer 1995. A recurrent assumption in the literature that *Šiuš-šummiš* from the text of Anitta would have been the early Hittite Sun-god Šiuš (e.g., Neu 1974: 119ff.; Gurney 1977: 9ff.; Haas 1994a: 188f.; Klinger 1996: 144 n. 62; Lombardi 1996: 69f.; Hutter 2006: 82; Kryszat 2006a: 107) has no grounds in the preserved sources. See now also Kutter 2008: 88.

149 T. Özgüç 1993; 1999: 117ff.

150 Haas 1994a: 613f.; Popko 1995a: 88f.

151 Archi 2004a.

152 Otten 1952–1953; von Schuler 1965: 190f.; Haas 1994a: 412ff.; 1994b: 79ff.

153 Otten 1976–1980a; Hutter 1988: 125f.

and Darawa (see also 3.1.2 & 3.2.4). The Storm-god Tarḫuna stood at the head of the Kanesite pantheon, in which the Sun-god and the goddess Ḫan(n)aḫan(n)a also held an important position. In spite of the fact that not all these gods are evidenced in the Cappadocian tablets and some appeared only in theophoric names, the tradition of Kanesite beliefs recorded in later texts from the Hittite Kingdom period allows reconstructing the pantheon functioning during the *kārum* Level Ib phase at Kaneš. This pantheon has preserved the oldest form of Hittite religion known to us, demonstrating clear ties with the beliefs of other Anatolian peoples, the Luwians and the Palaians.

2.2. Iconography of Cappadocian deities

Cult scenes on cylinder and stamp seals from Kültepe/Kaneš,[154] Acemhöyük[155] and Karahöyük[156] contain representations of different divinities, among which one recognizes specific iconographic types. Some of these types are known also from Mesopotamian and Syrian glyptic art, giving the opportunity for identifying images of Šamaš, Ištar, Adad,[157] Ea, Amurrum, and Ušmu.[158] Others, appearing on the stamp and cylinder seals of the so-called Anatolian group, depict local deities, but without any legends to help identification of particular figures. In iconography, these deities are usually connected with animals, bringing to mind associations with the god's animals and images of gods standing on animals, both known from Hittite sources. Nonetheless, any identification of the Cappadocian deities with Hittite ones based on iconographic similarities should be treated with due caution.

A goddess shown on many seals from Kültepe and Acemhöyük[159] must have held an important position in the Cappadocian pantheons.[160] The iconographic type places her among the nature goddesses. Her animals were a goat and a bird. She is depicted

154 N. Özgüç 1959; 1965; 1968; 1979; 1989.

155 N. Özgüç 1980; 1983.

156 Alp 1968; 1974.

157 For two types of storm-gods on cylinder seals from Kültepe, see Leinwand 1984: 33ff.; 1992: 158ff. There are no grounds, however, for identifying any of the two with Teššub, cf. Schwemer 2001: 244f.

158 See, e.g., N. Özgüç 1965: 59ff.; 1968: 65f.

159 Cf. N. Özgüç 1983: 415f.; 1986: 51f.

160 Taracha 1987: 265f.; 1988: 115ff. with a list of representations on p. 116.

with a long robe and in a headdress typical of the later Hittite goddesses, sitting under a tree, on a backless stool or the back of a goat, and holding an offering bowl and bird or branch in her hands. The goddess is often accompanied by a numerous animal cortege, emphasizing her bond with wild creatures. In some scenes she is also associated with sphinxes.[161]

In other representations, the object of veneration or the main god receiving a procession of other divinities is a male figure in his prime, dressed in a long robe, seated on a lion or enthroned with a lion at his feet.[162] His headdress is a conical or semi-round cap, with or without horns, and his attribute is an axe. He is occasionally shown sitting opposite the goddess described above. The nature of these representations bears out the importance of this pair of divinities in the local pantheons of the time.

In the procession of gods standing on the back of an animal there is a suggestion of hierarchy. The god on a lion is third in line, behind two gods on bulls but before a god on a stag. The latter is depicted next to a youthful god in a short robe and with a curved weapon in outstretched hand, standing on a bridled lion or bull,[163] for instance, in the adoration scene of a bull mounted on a pedestal and with a cone on its back.[164]

In Hittite times, bulls were attributed to storm-gods, lions to gods of war and plague, and deer to tutelary gods. We are unable, however, to identify the specific deities in the local Cappadocian pantheons. Several storm-gods were worshiped for sure. Texts from *kārum* Level Ib in Kaneš bring mentions of two: the Storm-god (^{D}IŠKUR) and the 'Storm-god of the Head' (^{D}IŠKUR *ŠA QAQQA/IDIM*).[165] Iconographic differences between the gods on a lion depicted on the Kültepe seals are convincing proof that the two did not belong to the same category. Neither should the god on a stag be associated with the tutelary LAMMA god from Hittite texts (see 3.2.1 & 4). Some scholars would like to interpret this deity as a god of the hunt.[166]

161 N. Özgüç 1991: 297f.
162 Taracha 1987: 265; 1988: 113ff.
163 Taracha 1987: 264f.; 1988: 112f.
164 N. Özgüç 1965: no. 69. For the bull with a cone on its back, see Taracha 1988: 118f. with a list of representations, and N. Özgüç 1991: 309f. Casabonne's (2007) proposal to identify this bull with Perwa is most unlikely.
165 Kryszat 2006a: 106f., 120; cf. also Schwemer 2001: 243f.
166 Cf. Popko 1995a: 58.

3. HITTITE ANATOLIA

Around the middle of the seventeenth century BC the Hittite kingdom encompassed the territory in the bend of the Kızılırmak (Classical Halys), from the river's estuary on the Black Sea to Cappadocia. By this time, Kaneš had lost importance in favor of Ḫattuša, where all the processes of the emerging Hittite state were centered. Ḫattušili I (c. 1625-1600), who is believed to have been the founder of the state, is the first ruler to be cited more frequently in Hittite sources. The names of his two predecessors, Ḫuzziya and Labarna, are also known.[167]

Hittite history is divided principally into the Old Hittite and the Empire period, the caesura corresponding to the emergence of a new dynasty originating from Kummani in Kizzuwatna, which seized power in Ḫattuša in the first half of the fifteenth century BC.[168] These were the kings who built the greatness of the Hittite Empire which under Šuppiluliuma I (c. 1360–1332)[169] and his successors extended from the Aegean coast on the west to northern and central Syria on the east. Next to Egypt and Cassite Babylonia, the Hittite kingdom was one of the mightiest powers in the Ancient Near East, a position it kept until its ultimate decline in the first decades of the twelfth century BC.

The cuneiform texts from Ḫattuša, mostly concerning magic and cult, have contributed extensively to an understanding of religions in Asia Minor under the Hittites. The picture, while definitely richer for this period than for the previous one, is

167 On the evidence of the Cruciform Seal, A. Dinçol – B. Dinçol – Hawkins – Wilhelm 1993: 104ff. See, however, KBo 11.36 iii 9'ff. (Otten 1958b: 111) which gives the following (reversed) sequence of early Hittite kings: Ḫattušili, Labarna, Pimpirit/Pimpira, Ḫuzziya. For Pimpira, see now Cammarosano 2006: 47ff. with references to different interpretations of the list in KBo 11.36 iii 9'ff. on p. 61f. Suggestions that PU-Šarruma and Tutḫaliya I would have been the direct predecessors of Labarna and Ḫattušili I, or just Tutḫaliya I who allegedly ruled before Ḫuzziya "0" (e.g., Forlanini 1995: 129f.; Sürenhagen 1998: 82f.; Beal 2003a: 16ff., 34f.), must now be discarded, cf. Forlanini 2004: 374, 379ff.; Taracha 2004a; Freu – Mazoyer 2007a: 25, 37ff. with n. 35.
168 Cf. Taracha 2008a.
169 For the chronology of Šuppiluliuma's reign, see now Miller 2007: 282ff.; Taracha, 2008b.

not entirely clear by any means. Much attention in the texts was focused on official religion which was influenced by the policies of Hittite kings, who were responsible for establishing the state cult. With regard to local beliefs and popular religion, the problem is more complex. It is not merely because of the state of preservation of the texts but, first of all, due to their nature as documents recorded foremost for the needs of the ruler, court, and state administration.

Anatolian religions of the second millennium BC never constituted an isolated system which could be attributed to specific ethnic groups. During the nascency of the Hittite state, in the first half of the second millennium BC, central and northern Anatolia was inhabited by peoples of different origins. In the northern territories on the Lower Kızılırmak, the most numerous or even the sole ethnic group were the Hattians, the natives of this part of Anatolia. Judging by the relics of their language, they appear to have been related with the inhabitants of northwestern Caucasus. Existing Hittite texts have little to say, unfortunately, on Hattian beliefs in the northern territories in this early period. The ethnic situation was more complicated farther to the south, in the middle section of the Kızılırmak great bend and around the Hittite capital. In this area, the Hittites and Luwians appear to have formed a significant share of the population, next to the Hattians, already presumably in the third millennium BC.[170] The Hittites remained under the strong influence of Hattian culture, a process that was also reflected in the religious sphere. Yet, the preserved texts give us almost no information about the popular beliefs of the inhabitants of the Ḫattuša region. Hattian influence does not seem to have reached far south of the Hittite capital. As we have seen (2.1), Anatolians living in Kaneš in the times of the Old Assyrian colonies seem to have merged Hittite-Luwian traditions with the influence of the local (pre-Indo-European) substrate.

Despite different religious traditions in a multi-ethnic cultural society, the local pantheons of Hittite Anatolia demonstrate many structural similarities, in keeping with the principles governing the organization and development of pantheons of the early city-states.

170 Taracha 1991. My position on this problem is a compromise between P. Garelli, who extended the ethno-linguistic conditions of Kaneš to the overall Anatolian picture, with the consequent Hittitization of the entire milieu, and Singer's opinion (1981: 131) that, before the conquest of Anitta, the land of Ḫatti had not been largely Hittitized. See now also Stefanini 2002: 793; Goedegebuure 2008.

In Old Hittite times, the state cult in the capital and the local beliefs in central and northern Anatolia both grew from the indigenous Hattian tradition. It is quite likely, however, that Hittite-Luwian deities were worshiped by the royal family and probably also by some part of population of the Hittite heartland, especially toward the Zuliya/Çekerek basin (see also 3.2.3).

The coming to power of the new dynasty of Kizzuwatnean origin meant fundamental change in the religious sphere. Its rulers worshiped their own gods as part of the dynastic cult, introducing into the Hittite state pantheon the deities venerated by the Hurrians from southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria, including Mesopotamian and Syrian gods. These cults took root in the capital and gradually penetrated into the local pantheons, especially in centers where the king used to reside on occasion. In other provincial towns, local deities continued to be worshiped, although there, too, the state cult had a growing impact. The Empire period also witnessed a process, stimulated by the kings' religious policies, of transferring Luwian, Hurro-Kizzuwatnean, Syrian and Mesopotamian cults to towns in the north and northeast. In the thirteenth century BC, this process was presumably partially connected with the mass resettling of the Luwian population from western and southern Anatolia into territories located in the Kızılırmak bend.[171] Kizzuwatna, the home of the ruling dynasty of the time, played an important role in this movement.

171 van den Hout 2007a: 240f.

3.1. The Old Hittite Period

During this period Hattian divinities were in the majority, both in the Hittite state pantheon and in the local pantheons of central and northern Anatolia. An important criterion for attributing a given deity to a specific ethnic tradition is the language of her cult. A rule well known and abided by in different regions and cultures of the ancient world was to address a deity in her own language.[172] The criterion of cult language is even more important than the god's name, especially in the case of sources from the Empire period in which foreign gods tended to be given the appellations of their Anatolian counterparts.[173] It seems that already in Old Hittite times, Hittite-Luwian or Palaic deities occasionally received Hattian names in the Hattian cultural milieu (see 3.1.2 on the Hattian name/epithet of the Palaic Storm-god Ziparwa and the status of the goddess Kataḫzipuri in the Palaic pantheon). A deity could become common in a new cultural milieu where she had no counterpart and it was common then for her to be venerated in this new ethnic environment under her old name. One example from the early period is the Hattian god Ḫašam(m)ili worshiped in Hittite-Luwian circles, appearing also among the Kanesite deities (2.1); the same is true of the Mesopotamian god Ea who was worshiped in Hittite Anatolia during the Empire period (3.2.5).

As far as a study of Old Hittite religion is concerned, the methodological principle is that the religious texts of the period, the cultic and the magic both, demonstrate no trace of any Mesopotamian or Syrian influence so heavily present in texts from the Empire period.[174] One should bear this in mind when considering scholarly opinions on the Old Hittite origins of particular rituals, rites and mythological themes which are evidenced solely in the late texts. Many of these opinions are in need of verification, but it does not mean that the late sources which can document an earlier tradition should be rejected in a reconstruction of Old Hittite beliefs and cults. The present chapter discusses only those elements of Hittite religion which are undoubtedly derived from an earlier Anatolian tradition.

172 Cf. Goetze 1953: 263. See now also Archi 2004a.
173 Taracha 2004b.
174 Cf. Popko 1995a: 68, 80.

In the Old Assyrian Colony period, Ḫattuša was already the capital of one of the most important states in central Anatolia, encompassing a considerable territory in the Kızılırmak basin, especially the region north and northeast of the capital. Similarly as in the case of Zalpa, located in the estuary of the Kızılırmak on the Black Sea,[175] the state with the capital in Ḫattuša grew from the Hattian cultural tradition. Upon taking power in Ḫattuša, the Old Hittite dynasty took from the Hattians the name of the land, ideology of kingship, and most probably the state institutions. It was only natural that Hattian gods, especially those belonging to the pantheon of the capital city, filled the state pantheon. Indeed, it is difficult to point out any elements of the official Hittite religion that could be derived from the common Indo-European heritage of the Anatolians. Yet, elements of this tradition were present in the domestic cult celebrated by the royal family venerating deities that demonstrated ties with the Kanesite pantheon. Some of these gods had Luwian names (see 3.1.2). It can be concluded from the above evidence that the ruling family had Hittite roots. It also seems justifiable to assume that a considerable part of the population of the land of Ḫatti in this period was of Hittite and Luwian origins.[176] In his Annals, Ḫattušili I calls himself a 'man of Kuššar,' which was where the earlier rulers of Kaneš, Pitḫana and Anitta, had come from. The Hittites must have been well aware of their ethnic ties with Kaneš/Neša, considering that they called themselves Nesites and their tongue Nesite. Later on, during the Old Hittite period, Hittite (Nesite) also became the official language of the royal chancery.[177]

Hattian influence has also been noted in the religion of the Palaians who lived west of the lower run of the Kızılırmak, in a region called later Paphlagonia.[178] The Palaic pantheon (3.1.2), however, reveals stronger bonds with the ancestral Indo-European religious traditions which also predominated in the beliefs of the Luwians.

Compared to sources from the Empire period, the Old Hittite texts provide little information on religious matters, and limited to the region of central and northern Anatolia. Not much can be said about Luwian beliefs from southern Anatolia and

175 For the history of Zalpa, see Otten 1973: 58ff.; Haas 1977; Forlanini 1984: 253ff.; Klinger 1996: 112ff.; Beal 2003a: 21ff.; Forlanini 2004: 374ff., 379ff.
176 Goedegebuure (2008) comes to a similar conclusion on the socio-linguistic analysis of Hattian.
177 Initially, Akkadian was the language of the royal office in Ḫattuša. The first Hittite texts were written presumably in the reign of Telipinu (c. 1550–1530) or one of his successors, cf. Popko 2007c: 579; van den Hout, in press.
178 See now van den Hout 2003–2005b; Popko 2008: 60f.

nothing about the religion of the inhabitants of the western stretches of the region. For this reason, Luwian beliefs will be discussed in the chapter devoted to the Empire period (3.2.4).

3.1.1. Pantheon of the state and the capital city

The state pantheon included gods worshiped in Ḫattuša and divinities heading the local pantheons from the most important religious centers of the state. The cult was celebrated by the king, the royal couple or the crown prince.[179] Most of the gods worshiped in the state cult of the Old Hittite period belonged to the Hattian substrate. The gods of Ḫattuša and the holy cities of Arinna, Ziplanda and Nerik (the latter lying far to the north, possibly modern Oymaağaç near Vezirköprü) held the most important position. The location of these cities, in the bend of the Kızılırmak, marked the territorial extent of the Hittite state at an early stage of its history. The territory earlier controlled by Zalpa on the Black Sea, where the holy city of Nerik lay, was conquered by the kings of Ḫattuša two generations before Ḫattušili I.[180] Also incorporated into the state cult were the deities of other cities in the Hittite heartland, e.g. Ankuwa, Tawiniya and Katapa, as well as the chief god of the Palaians named Zaparwa/Ziparwa, along with a group of associated divinities (see 3.1.2).

The hierarchy of particular cult centers was decided by tradition. In the Old Hittite period, the structure of the state pantheon was built on the religious backgrounds of Ḫattuša and nearby Arinna,[181] and on the ideology of kingship of the time. This early Hittite pantheon drew directly on the local beliefs. The state cult was focused on the capital which was traditionally the seat of the main gods of Ḫatti. It was under the Empire that a new geographic organization of the state pantheon

179 For the role of the prince in the state cult, see Jasink 1977; 1981; Torri 2004b; Taracha 2005b, and forthcoming.

180 In accordance with the atribution of the Tale of Zalpa, CTH 3.1 (Otten 1973; Holland – Zorman 2007), and a ritual composition CTH 3.2 (Soysal 1989: 75ff., 108ff., 143f.; Corti 2002: 172ff.) to the reign of Ḫattušili I, see, among others, Pecchioli Daddi 1994, 85f., 91; Corti 2002: 176; Beal 2003a: 22ff. For a different interpretation, see Soysal 1989: 143f.; 2005b: 130f. Cf. also Helck 1983; Bayun 1994; Klinger 1996: 117ff.; Corti 2005; Haas 2006: 25f.; Gilan 2007b; Zorman 2008.

181 Popko, in press.

emerged, giving a more pronounced role to the religious policies of the rulers. The outcome of this process was a veritable political theology serving to strengthen the state and protect its territorial integrity (see 3.2.1).

The sources of key importance for a study of cult practices and state pantheon structure are descriptions of religious ceremonies with the participation of the king, the royal couple and/or the princes, during which sacrifices were made to the gods. The sequence of offerings was never accidental and it reflected the divine hierarchy. Differences in the lists of gods worshiped during ceremonies celebrated as part of the state cult beyond the capital city, appearing in texts from the Empire period, are a good starting point for a detailed study of the forms of state cult and its changes over time. It should be kept in mind, however, that the texts, although prescriptive, refer to particular festivals celebrated in the capital or another religious center, attended by nobles and priests coming from neighboring cities, too. Therefore, if a deity is missing from a list, but is known from other sources to have held a high position in the state pantheon, it may indicate only that this deity was not taking part in this ceremony because the center of her cult was situated far from the capital. It is likely also that she did not have her cult at the time in Ḫattuša.

This is in my opinion the reason why the Storm-god of Nerik is missing from the list of gods worshiped during the KI.LAM festival held in Ḫattuša.[182] The first to receive offerings were the mysterious Tauri(t)[183] and the chief divinities of the Hittite pantheon: the Storm-god (of Ḫatti) with Wašezzili, and the Sun-goddess (of Arinna) with Mezzulla, who is referred to in other texts by the epithet Tappinu 'Daughter.' The next round of offerings included the gods of Ḫattuša and Arinna followed, among others, by the gods of Ankuwa, Ziplanda, and center(s) lying in the basin of the Zuliya/Çekerek river. This new list of deities is opened again by the Storm-god and Wašezzili, followed by Inar and Ḫabandali / Moon and the Hearth-goddess Kuzanišu / Mount Ḫulla / Telipinu / the War-god *ZABABA*

182 Singer 1983: 101ff.; Yoshida 1996: 77ff. Reconstructing the list of gods worshiped during the 'great assembly,' Singer, and after him Yoshida, joined two separate rounds of offerings together. Actually, the Storm-god with Wašezzili should not appear twice at the beginning of the list. For a similar list belonging to the festival of 'the thunder and the Moon' (CTH 630), see Laroche 1973a.

183 Soysal (2004: 183, 319; 2005: 195) interprets this Hattian name as the 'vigorous one (marked as feminine).'

(=Wurunkatte)[184] / ['Day'] / GAL.ZU / [Zayu][185] / Tuḫašail, [(Wa-)Zizzašu], Zuliya river[186] / Šušumittu / 'Lady of the Palace' (^{D}NIN.É.GAL) / K[ataḫḫi] of Ankuwa (Ḫanikkun K[ataḫḫi]) / Zilipuru / Kattimu / Ḫalki / Zilipuru and [ ] / Wahiši / Ḫallara / Ḫašamili / Tetešḫapi of Ḫattuša (Ḫattuš Tetešḫapi)[187] / Mount Puškuruna, Tapalḫuna / Storm-god of Ziplanda with Kataḫḫi / Ulza, Uliw/pašu, Katarzašu / Šušumaḫi, Šimmišu, Ḫaratši[188] / Šitarzuna,[189] Taḫampiw/pu, Waḫzašu (in another text Wawaḫšu), Takkiḫau 'Lion' / [Wap?]uttašu (in another text [W]aputet[190]), Kuzanišu, Taḫpillanu.

With rare exceptions (e.g. Moon, 'Day,' Ḫalki, Ḫabandali), these are all Hattian deities or ones with Hattian names.[191] The nature of many of the lesser gods

184 In similar lists, the War-god is often accompanied by the Throne-goddess Ḫalmašuit.

185 Pecchioli Daddi (1995) interprets Zayu as an epithet of a local Storm-god. For Hattian **šaiu/zaiu/šail* 'lord?,' see Soysal 2004: 306.

186 For this group of deities, see a restored list of gods: [Ḫulla?], [Telipinu?], [*ZABABA*], ['Day'], [GAL.ZU], (KBo 21.83 rev. 1'f.:) Tuḫašail, [(Wa-)Zizzašu?], Zuliya, Yoshida 1996: 114, 297. McMahon (1991: 249 with n. 16) suggested that the last mentioned deities are named in the next paragraph (rev. 3') "three *kipikkišdus* of [the Sun-goddess and Mezzulla?]." Other contexts contradict this idea. Some texts (Yoshida 1996: 176ff., 296) mention Karmaḫi(li) after Tuḫašail, see Otten 1976–1980b. KBo 21.85+KBo 8.109+ iv! 19'ff. adds further divinities to this group: Zizzašu, Zuliya, Kaḫupput, Taḫangulla, Ḫalmašuiddu, Kattaḫḫi, [Zuw]uru/Šipuru. In other texts (Yoshida 1996: 109ff., 297) Šipuru is followed by (three) *kipikki/ašdus* (of?) the Sun-Goddess and Mezzulla; cf. KBo 20.70+KBo 21.88 ii 1ff. Also evidenced are six deities presented in pairs: Zizzišu–Zuliya, Telipinu–Šipuru, Kataḫḫa–Taḫankulla (Haas 1994a: 476 with n. 68). Cf. also KBo 37.157 8'ff.: Tuwaša[il?], [Karmaḫil]i? / Telipinu / *ZA[BABA]*, [Ḫalmašui]ddu / Šiwuru, [Kataḫḫi?] / [Ueriya]du, Ištanu (Alp 1983a: 362f.; Yoshida 1996: 237). In the KI.LAM list the said group of gods precedes the deities of Ankuwa and Ziplanda. Presumably we are dealing with the local pantheon(s) from the Zuliya/Çekerek basin. On the importance of early Hittite centers in the Zuliya basin, see Forlanini 2002: 260f. Katapa is one of the high-ranking centers to be located in this region (cf. 3.2.3). For Zuliya, see also Laroche 1946-1947: 41; 1973a: 87; Klinger 1996: 166f. Šep/wuru was a deity connected with agriculture. At Ziplanda she received offerings together with Telipinu on a threshing floor, see Popko 1994: 43, 56.

187 ^{URU}*Ḫattuš* ^{D}*Tetešḫapi* in the KI.LAM list corresponds to ^{D}*Ḫattušan(-)tewašḫap* (KBo 21.85+KBo 8.109 i 24') = ^{URU}*Ḫattušaš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} 'gods of Ḫattuša' in the list of gods of CTH 630 (see n. 182), cf. Singer 1983: 102; Soysal 2004: 459.

188 Šušumaḫi (Popko 1994: 44), Šimmišu(n) (cf. KBo 47.81 rev.? 3'f.: [^{LÚ}]SANGA ^{D}*Šimmišun*) and Ḫaratši, a deity connected with agriculture (Otten 1972–1975b; Popko 1994: 43; 1995a: 72), are also evidenced in the cult of Ziplanda.

189 Šitarzuna is also mentioned among the gods, 'holy places' and other cult objects in ceremonies held in the *ḫešta*-house, see below with n. 247. It can be therefore assumed that this is one of the chthonic deities.

190 KBo 23.79 iii 6', Yoshida 1996: 81.

191 One cannot exclude Hittite-Luwian divinities being concealed under some Hattian names, see below.

appearing toward the end of the list remains obscure. Some of them are present among the fourteen deities whom the king made sacrifices to earlier in the temple of the Sun-goddess: Sun-goddess, [Mezzulla], Storm-god, Wašezzili, Inar, [Ḫabandali?], 'Lady of the Palace,' *ZABABA*, Ta[ḫampiw/pu?], Waḫzašu, Kataḫḫi, [ ], Ḫašammiu (=Ḫašam(m)ili), Ḫaratši;[192] others belonged to the group of gods charged with caring for the harvest, fertility and the household, who received offerings in another temple, perhaps the House of the *kurša* (here the text is damaged), situated like the temple of the Sun-goddess on the acropolis Büyükkale, near a place called 'silver trees' and a *ḫuwaši*(-precinct?) of the Storm-god. These gods are: [ ], Telipinu, Taḫpil[la]nu, [ ], [Tapalḫ]una, Kataḫḫi, [Ulz]a$^{?}$,[193] [ ], and 'Lady of the Palace.'[194] A later text written in the New Script from the Empire period confirms the connection between this group of divinities and the House of the *kurša*.[195] The text has a similar list of gods carried(?) to the House of the *kurša*: [ ], Telipinu, Taḫpill[anu], [ ], Tapalḫuna, Zilipu[ru/i], [Kataḫḫ]i?, Ḫalzukki, and 'Lady of the Palace.' Among the divinities coming from other cities one should note the Storm-god of Ziplanda, Kataḫḫi of Ankuwa, and Tetešḫapi, whose main cult center was Tawiniya.[196]

A group of gods mentioned at the beginning of the list and ending with the mysterious GAL.ZU constitutes the basic Hittite pantheon which was tantamount to the pantheon of Ḫattuša itself. This group appears in many cult ceremonies, also in the Empire period. The Sun-goddess of Arinna, 'Lady of the land of Ḫatti,' is listed before the Storm-god as a rule. In its classical form, the group of the most important Hittite divinities includes six (or seven) deities who received offerings in the following sequence: Sun-goddess (of Arinna), Storm-god, Mezzulla, Inar, Ḫulla, Telipinu (and GAL.ZU).[197] The king drank a ritual toast to these gods standing on the ceremonial throne *ḫalmašuit*. The adding of the War-god *ZABABA*/Wurunkatte to this group of divinities in the list belonging to the KI.LAM festival drew from his role played in the ideology of kingship (see below).

192 ABoT 5++ i 5'ff., Neu 1980: 29f. (no. 12); Singer 1984: 32f.; Yoshida 1996: 76.

193 Cf. Yoshida 1996: 76.

194 ABoT 5++ i 15'ff.

195 KUB 57.59 ii 9'ff., Yoshida 1996: 77.

196 de Martino 2006. For the location of Tawiniya northwest of Ḫattuša, see Barjamovic 2005: 303ff.

197 Cf. Yoshida 1992: 148ff.; 1996: 88ff.

The pantheon of the capital originally comprised solely the gods of Ḫattuša and nearby Arinna. This stage of the pantheon development is documented by the list from the KI.LAM festival cited above. The first place held by the Storm-god (along with his companion Wašezzili) indicates that the KI.LAM festival was actually celebrated for the Storm-god of Ḫatti, the main divinity of the capital. Descriptions of other ceremonies confirm this conclusion, gods for whom a given festival was celebrated always received sacrifices first in line. As far as the KI.LAM festival is concerned, the tradition probably goes back to the obscure time of the foundation of the city-state of Ḫattuša, when the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess from the holy city of Arinna became the superior divine couple of the pantheon.[198] The circumstances and chronology of the changes that made the Storm-god in effect the supreme divinity of Ḫattuša remain elusive for lack of written sources referring to this early period. It is not unlikely that these changes took the same course as in Kaneš where Anna, goddess of the city from the *kārum* Level II, was replaced in this role by the Storm-god in the *kārum* Level Ib period (see 2.1).

Inar, goddess of Ḫattuša, presumably belonged to the category of tutelary goddesses connected with the realm of nature, the countryside and wild fauna in particular.[199] This brings to mind an anonymous goddess of the same category, who is known from representations on Cappadocian seals (see 2.2), indicating her prominent position in the local pantheons. During the KI.LAM festival a procession left the temple of Inar carrying images of wild animals made of precious metals: silver leopard, golden lion, boars of silver and lapis lazuli, and silver bear.[200] Cult singing was in this case in Hittite,[201] suggesting that the Hittites of Ḫattuša considered Inar their own divinity. Volkert Haas argued, on the basis of the name, that Inar's

198 For a possible early Anatolian tradition of the KI.LAM festival, see Kryszat 2004: 21f., who suggests a connection between the festival's name and the market-place (Akkadian *MAḪĪRUM* = KI.LAM) which is mentioned in Old Assyrian texts in association with the *sikkātum* ceremonies celebrated in Kaneš.

199 Kammenhuber 1976a; 1976–1980a; Haas 1994a: 436ff.; Klinger 1996: 159ff. Cf. also Archi 2004a: 13.

200 Singer 1983: 90ff. On the role of Inar and the procession during the KI.LAM festival, see also Archi 1988a: 29ff.; 1993a: 408f. For the animals: Collins 1989: 298ff.; 2002a: 328 n. 70.

201 KUB 20.10+ i 17, ii 14, Neu 1980: 132 (no. 59); Alp 1983: 244; Yoshida 1996: 67; KBo 21.70 i 24', Yoshida 1996: 122; KBo 17.83++ iii 17'f., Yoshida 1996: 142. Cf. also Yoshida 1996: 328 ($^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$*Nešumeneš*/$^{\text{LÚ(.MEŠ)}}$NAR ^{URU}*Kaniš* SÌR^{RU}); Klinger 1996: 9f., 160f.; Archi 2004a: 12 with n. 4.

companion, Ḫabandali(ya), should be interpreted as a Luwian shepherd goddess; Haas sees her cult in Ḫattuša as yet more proof of early contacts between the Luwians and the Hattians.[202] In myths, Ḫapantali appears beside the Luwian goddess Kamrušepa (called Kataḫzip/wuri in the Hattian milieu, see also 3.2.4);[203] also in a later version of the myth about the disappearance of Telipinu (3.2.9) it is Kamrušepa who established the ritual and Ḫabandaliya, again, as in other myths, stays in the shadow of Kamrušepa.[204]

Inar was mistress of wild nature, while the Moon and Hearth, mentioned right after her, were charged with fertility and the prosperity of the royal house. The Moon, Kašku in Hattian,[205] was not prominent in Hattian beliefs and it is not even clear whether it was personified. Also the Hearth was of rather secondary importance as a domestic deity.[206] Therefore, one should assume that their presence among the gods worshiped during the KI.LAM festival derived from the nature of this ceremony which was designed to ensure a good harvest in the land and prosperity for the city and the royal house. Characteristically, singing in the cult of the Moon and Hearth was in Hittite.[207] The phonetic complement in the writing of the Moon-god's name in the accusative (^{D}XXX-*an*)[208] shows that it is not Kašku,[209] but rather the Hittite-Luwian Moon-god Arma[210] (see 3.2.4). Thus, the Moon and Hearth are not Hattian divinities, even though the latter (Ḫašauwanza in Hittite) bears the Hattian name

202 Haas 2002a: Ḫapantali/Ḫawantali from Luwian *ḫāwa/ī-* 'sheep.' Earlier, some scholars had derived the name Ḫapa(n)tali from Hittite and Luwian *ḫāpa/i-* 'river,' cf. Laroche 1966a: 59, 287; Carruba 1983: 89f.; Haas 1994a: 441; Archi 1995a: 15 n. 13; 2004a: 13; others, however, have considered Ḫabantali a Hattian deity, see Soysal 2004: 144 with references; cf. also McMahon 1991: 14ff.

203 Cf. Archi 1995a: 15ff.

204 Hoffner 1998: 16.

205 Klinger 1996: 153ff.

206 Archi 1975; Popko 1978: 48ff.; cf. also Haas 1994a: 267ff.

207 KBo 17.9+ABoT 5(+) ii 21'f., Neu 1980: 32 (no. 12); Groddek 2004a: 44f.; Archi 2004a: 14; KBo 21.68++ i 7", Groddek 2004a: 16f., 32f. On music and singing in Hittite cult with the participation of the men/singer of Kaneš, see also Yoshida 1999: 250f.

208 KBo 25.154+KBo 21.68 i 7', Groddek 2004a: 16f.

209 *Contra* Archi 1995a: 18 ("surely the Hattic Kašku"); 2004a: 14, 23.

210 Also in the myth known as "The Moon that Fell from Heaven" (CTH 727), which is preserved in a bilingual version (Laroche 1969b: 13ff.; translated by Hoffner 1998: 34ff.), the Hattian Kašku corresponds to Arma (^{D}XXX-*aš*) in the Hittite version, KUB 28.4 obv. 15a = 16b; cf. Klinger 1996: 153 with n. 103; Soysal 2004: 535. The preserved version of the myth reveals many features of a late redaction.

Kuzanišu.[211] The Hattian divinities connected with the hearth, [Wap?]uttašu (Waputet)–Kuzanišu–Taḫpillanu, appear at the end of the quoted list.[212] The Moon and Hearth are no longer present in later lists of gods of the capital's pantheon, but they are summoned together with a group of Hittite-Luwian deities in domestic cult ceremonies[213] (see 3.1.2).

Presumably already in the Old Hittite period, the Storm-god of Ziplanda, who is also called Ziplanti(l),[214] being one of the great gods of the indigenous territory of the Hittite state, appeared regularly next to the Storm-god of Ḫatti in lists of gods of the state pantheon worshiped in the capital.

In some lists of gods,[215] the deity mentioned right after the Sun-goddess of Arinna and Mezzulla, and the Storm-gods of Ḫatti and Ziplanda, is the Mountain-god Zali(yan)u from the city of Tanipiya, similar in nature to Ziplanti(l). He appears as a rule together with his concubine (Ta-)Zuwaši, perhaps a deified spring.[216] Zaliyanu was also worshiped in Kaštama, where the local city goddess Za(š)ḫapuna became his consort.[217] This can be good evidence for the gods of Kaštama being included in the state cult, which may refer to the fact, of which we learn from a later prayer of Muwattalli II (CTH 381),[218] that Kaštama had become a new seat and cult place of the Storm-god of Nerik after the northern territories with the holy city of Nerik succumbed to the Kaška tribes moving down from the Pontic region in the reign of Ḫantili II at the end of the sixteenth century BC.[219] The Storm-god of Nerik, called also Nerak or Nerikkil,[220] is listed immediately after Inar (in the Empire period the goddess's name was usually written with the logogram LAMMA, see 3.2.1) or else preceded by Telipinu or Day and GAL.ZU.[221] The latter variant is evidenced

211 Otten 1980–1983b; Pecchioli Daddi 1998a: 132f., 137; 1998b: 15ff.
212 In other texts, Šušumaḫi is mentioned next to Kuzanišu and Taḫpillanu; cf. Yoshida 1992: 144ff.; 1996: 85ff.
213 Haas – Prechel 1993–1997: 371.
214 Cf. Laroche 1966a: 249; Popko 1994: 32.
215 Yoshida 1996: 67ff., 296 (A.1 a).
216 Hoffner 2007: 124.
217 Cf. Haas 1970: 79ff.; 1994a: 598f.
218 KUB 6.45 i 68, with its duplicate KUB 6.46 ii 33, Singer 1996: 12, 34.
219 KUB 1.1+ (with its duplicates) iii 46'f.; KUB 25.21 iii 2ff.; KUB 21.29 i 11f. Cf. Carruba 1988: 200f.; Freu 1995: 135; Klinger 1995: 84; Klengel 1999: 92f.; Bryce 2005: 121; Freu – Mazoyer 2007a: 162f.
220 Laroche 1947: 214; 1966a: 249; Haas 1970: 95 with n. 2; Popko 1994: 32 with n. 4.
221 Cf. KUB 58.11 rev. 7', Haas 1970: 214ff.; Yoshida 1996: 72.

also in an extended version, in which the name of the Storm-god of Nerik is repeated twice – once after Telipinu among the most important gods of Ḫatti, and a second time after GAL.ZU with the accompanying divinities: Zilipuri, [ ], 'Lady of the Palace' (^{D}NIN.É.GAL), *kipek(k)i/ašdu*(s) [ ].[222] This circle of gods cannot be fully reconstructed due to textual damages, but it seems to have come down from the early cult tradition of Nerik. *Kipik(k)i/ašdus* are evidenced also in descriptions of the festival of the month from the Empire period; during this ceremony the queen (in another version the royal couple) raised a ritual toast to (three) *kipikkašdus* (of?) the Sun-goddess and Mezzulla.[223] One text mentions two *kipik(k)ašdus* of the Storm-god.[224]

The lists of gods including Zaliyanu belong to descriptions of various ceremonies which took place in Kaštama with the participation of the king or prince. Other texts, already from the early Empire period, confirm that during state cult festivals celebrated outside the capital, offerings were made to the prominent deities of a given city immediately after the supreme gods of the land – Sun-goddess of Arinna (with Mezzulla) and Storm-god (in these texts he appears already in the disguise of the Hurrian Teššub with his companion Šuwaliyat/Tašmišu) – and before the tutelary LAMMA god of Ḫatti (accompanied by Ala and Zitḫariya), who took Inar's place as the third in the chief divine triad of the capital and the Hittite state pantheon (see 3.2.1).[225] This also discloses the principle behind the structure of the triad (first attested in the texts of the Empire period). The third place, beside the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god, was given to the city's divine protector. At Kaneš in the Assyrian Colony period it was Anna, at Ḫattuša it was Inar, and elsewhere other deities were invariably in this position. Thus, we are given an additional criterion for attributing fragmentarily preserved descriptions of festivals to the cult of various centers. The majority of gods charged with caring for a city belonged to the category of tutelary deities, irrespective of what was their sex, although in central and northern Anatolia, as for example in Kaneš, Ḫattuša, Tawiniya, Katapa, Kaštama, etc.,

222 IBoT 2.65 3', 8'ff., Haas 1970: 224ff.; KBo 20.10+KBo 25.59 iii 1'ff., Neu 1980: 132f. (no. 59); KUB 56.32 ii 4'ff. Cf. Yoshida 1996: 72ff.
223 KUB 27.69 i 5'ff.; KUB 10.89 ii 27'f., Yoshida 1996: 109ff. See also above, n. 186.
224 KUB 20.19 iv 12'f.; cf. also KBo 30.46 5'. For $^{(D)}$*kipik(k)i/ašdu*, see McMahon 1991: 248ff.
225 E.g., KBo 30.120+KBo 34.197(+)KBo 34.198 rev.! iv 9'ff.; KBo 34.200(+)KBo 34.201(+)KBo 34.191 obv.! 1'ff., Taracha 2005b: 708, 712, and forthcoming; cf. also Yoshida 1996: 143ff. The texts (CTH 647.II.2a and II.2b respectively) date to the very beginning of the Empire period.

they were generally female. Some of these deities, like Zitḫariya from the city of Zitḫara (more of whom in 3.2.1), were worshiped in the aniconic form of a *kurša*. Yet, there are also male gods occurring in the supreme position in the local pantheons: Storm-god, Telipinu, Kam(m)am(m)a, and others.

More or less at the same time as the deities of Kaštama, that is, in the later phase of the Old Hittite period, Kam(m)am(m)a was incorporated into the state pantheon. Some lists of gods mention him next to the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess as the third in the divine triad,[226] replacing Inar.[227] Concerning his nature, Kam(m)am(m)a could have been originally a fertility god, as suggested by a version of his name, Pin-Kammamma 'child/son Kammamma' (see below), indicating a bond with the category of active gods of a younger generation which included both the Storm-gods of Ziplanda and Nerik, and the fertility and vegetation god Telipinu (see 3.1.2). Kam(m)am(m)a was most probably the god of a city of the same name[228] and his advancement in the state cult presumably reflected the growing importance of the city which even may have served as a temporary royal residence in the times of Ḫantili II.[229]

Regardless of all these changes in the state cult, the sequence of making offerings to the most important gods was retained in cult practice right until the fall of the Hittite state, beginning always with the principal triad – Sun-goddess of Arinna, Storm-god and Inar/Kam(m)am(m)a/LAMMA – and ending on Day and GAL.ZU.

The king was empowered to rule by contract with the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna.[230] Confirming this are the king's words said during one of the Old Hittite magical rituals: "To me, the king, the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god have entrusted my country and my house, and I, the king, will protect my country and my house."[231] The king goes on to call the Storm-god his father and the Sun-goddess his mother.[232] According to another text, the Storm-god made the king his

226 See Popko 1999a, who follows Laroche (1973a: 85f.) in considering Kam(m)am(m)a a tutelary god.
227 This could explain why singers of Kaneš sang for Kammama (IBoT 1.21 iv 6-8, Archi 2004a: 22), similarly as for Inar, despite the fact that he was a Hattian god.
228 Laroche 1946–1947: 27.
229 Popko 1999a: 98; cf. also Klengel 1999: 93.
230 KUB 29.1 ii 47ff., Kellerman 1980: 15, 28f.
231 KUB 29.1 i 17ff., Kellerman 1980: 11, 25, 116f. Cf. also Gurney 1958; Haas 1994a: 189; García Trabazo 2002: 484f.
232 KUB 29.1 i 24, 26, 30, Kellerman 1980: 11, 26. Cf. Neu 1974: 125f.; Houwink ten Cate 1992: 86ff.; Haas 1994a: 189; Klinger 1996: 146, 148; García Trabazo 2002: 486f.

steward, entrusting the land of Ḫatti to his rule, and the king governed the land in the god's name: "May the Tabarna, the king, be dear to the gods! The land belongs to the Storm-god alone. Heaven, earth, and people belong to the Storm-god alone. He has made the Labarna, the king, his administrator and given him the entire land of Ḫatti. The Labarna shall continue to administer with his hand the entire land."[233]

By the same, the cult of the main gods of the capital's pantheon was identical to the state cult. The fact that the pantheon in Ḫattuša is headed by the Storm-god and Sun-goddess comes as no surprise, considering that the situation is the same in the case of many local pantheons in central and northern Anatolia (see 3.1.2). The Hattian name Taru, like Hittite Tarḫuna and Luwian Tarḫunt(a), refers to the whole category of storm-gods who were worshiped outside the capital under a variety of local names or nicknames. The Palaic Storm-god also bears the Hattian name or epithet Zaparwa/Ziparwa (cf. a similar epithet of the Storm-god of Ḫatti, Taparwašu). The Sun in Hattian was called Eštan, giving rise to the Hittite word *ištanu-*.[234] The Sun-goddess of Arinna, called Arinnit(i/u) 'Arinnian,' bore the appellation Wurunšemu 'Mother of the Earth,'[235] which well reflects one of the aspects of the nature of Hattian sun-goddesses[236] (see 3.1.2). The goddess retained her position as 'Lady of Ḫatti,' supervising the kingship and queenship, until the fall of the Hittite kingdom (3.2.1).

233 IBoT 1.30 (with its duplicates HT 67 rev. 1'ff. and KUB 48.13 rev. 9'ff.) obv. 1ff.; translated by Beckman 1995: 530. See also Güterbock 1954: 16; Archi 1979: 31f.; Houwink ten Cate 1992: 87 with n. 9; Haas 1994a: 189f.; Starke 1996: 173; Gilan 2004: 190; Collins 2007: 93.
234 Cf. Haas 1994a: 420ff.; Klinger 1996: 141ff.
235 On the meaning 'mother' assigned to the Hattian *šemu* (Klinger 1996: 147) or *mu* (Soysal 2004: 295), see also Braun – Taracha 2007: 199.
236 For the chthonic aspect of Wuru(n)šemu/Urunzimu, see, e.g., KUB 36.89 obv., where the goddess is summoned together with the Sun-goddess of the Earth ([D]EREŠ.KI.GAL) from a cave near Nerik; accordingly, offerings are made to the Storm-god of Nerik, the Sun-goddess of the Earth, Urunzimu, and primeval gods. Cf. Haas 1970: 140ff.; Moore 1975: 142ff.; Haas 1994a: 603; 1998–2001: 230. In this instance, it is probably a local avatar of the Sun-goddess of Arinna/Wurunšemu, worshiped at Nerik after the town was reconquered by Ḫattušili III (see 3.2.3); on another occasion, sacrifices were offered up to the Sun-goddess in the temple of Za(š)ḫ(a)puna together with Za(š)ḫapuna, DINGIR.MAḪ and deities from her circle, and the river Maraššanta/Kızılırmak and all other rivers, cf. KUB 58.39 vi 10'ff., García Trabazo – Groddek 2005: 103; Taracha 2007b: 190. The epithet of the Sun-goddess of Arinna in this text, [KI-*aš*?] AMA 'Mother [of the Earth],' confirms the interpretation of Hattian Wurunšemu.

In the Hattian tradition, the War-god Wurunkatte 'King of the Land' and Throne-goddess Ḫanwašuit (Hittite Ḫalmašuit) were also connected with the ideology of kingship,[237] thus explaining their place in the state cult.[238] Ḫalmašuit represented the ceremonial throne in the form of a dais recalling the Persian *takht*, which the royal couple was seated on during cult ceremonies.[239]

The worship of the ceremonial throne distinguishes Hittite Anatolia from other areas of the Ancient Near East. The mythical builder of the throne was the god Zilipuru/i.[240] Another old myth tells the story of the Throne-goddess living "in the mountains" and protecting the king,[241] bringing the king power from the sea and a carriage (^{GIŠ}*ḫuluganni*) which symbolized this power and which he used during cult ceremonies.[242] The sea in this tale does not necessarily refer to the tradition of Zalpa on the Black Sea.[243] Ḫalmašuit was the divine patron of the dynasty of Pitḫana and Anitta from Kuššar, too, which seized power in Kaneš toward the end of the Assyrian Colony period (2.1). Interestingly, texts from the Empire period mention the goddess of Kaneš, Anna (unless it is a case of homonymy here) together with the Sea, Zarnizza, and river Šarmamma, among the primeval deities worshiped in the cult of the goddess Ḫuwaššanna from the southern city of Ḫubešna

237 Cf. Gurney 1958; Carini 1982; Marazzi 1982. See also Beckman 1995; Haas 1999.

238 The proud appellation of the War-god, 'King of the Land,' and his ties with the ideology of kingship could be linked to the Hattian tradition which saw him sometimes as the father of the Storm-god; cf. Pecchioli Daddi 2001: 403 with n. 4. This brings to mind the role of Enlil and Dagan as royal gods, respectively, in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia and in the West Semitic tradition on the mid-Euphrates, going back to the third millennium BC. See, e.g., George 1996: 383; Annus 2002: 15f.; Feliu 2003: 305. Considering change in the ideological model of kingship in Syria, Otto (2006: 267) remarks: "Der Zeitpunkt des Wandels fällt mit einer grundlegenden Umstrukturierung der politischen Landschaft Syriens zusammen, dem Entstehen einer dominanten Großmacht anstelle zahlreicher rivalisierender Stadtstaaten. Es ist die Zeit des Aufstiegs des Königreiches Jamḫad mit Hauptstadt Ḫalab zum mächtigsten Staat in Syrien. Der Hauptgott dieses Reiches war der Wettergott Adad. Sein Aufstieg zum wichtigsten... Gott könnte daher ein Reflex des politischen Geschehens sein. Dieser Gott beerbte seinen Vater Dagan offensichtlich nicht nur in gewissen Zuständigkeiten, sondern auch in manchen ikonographischen Elementen..." Similarly, in the period of the first unification of the Sumerian cities under a single city-state (beginning with Lugalzagesi) eternal kingship was handed over by Enlil to his first-born son Ninurta/Ningirsu.

239 Archi 1966; Starke 1979; Popko 1978: 59ff.; 1993: 321f.; Klinger 1996: 162ff.; Popko 1999b.

240 KUB 2.2 iii 17f., Schuster 1974: 71.

241 Cf. Lombardi 1996.

242 KUB 29.1 i 23f., Kellerman 1980: 11, 26; García Trabazo 2002: 486f.

243 For this interpretation, see, e.g., Otten 1973: 64; Neu 1974: 125 with n. 303; Haas 1977a; 1994a: 186.

(modern Ereğli) (see 3.2.4).[244] In their cult practice, Hittite kings of the new dynasty referred to the Old Hittite conception of the origins of kingship. In the thirteenth century BC, the ceremonial throne Ḫalmašuit was one of the cult objects in the temple of the War-god on Büyükkale in Ḫattuša. A statue of Ḫattušili I was also standing there.[245] Even so, the ideological and religious concept of royal authority underwent transformation in the Empire period (see 3.2.1).

(Propitious) Day[246] (presumably a euphemism for the day of death) appears among nine chthonic deities whose cult was celebrated in Ḫattuša in the mysterious *ḫešta*-house situated near the royal palace.[247] Contrary to what is said in the literature,[248] there is no reason to believe that it was a place for worshiping the dead.[249] According to Hattian beliefs, Lelwani was the lord of the netherworld.[250] In the cult of the *ḫešta*-house he was followed by: Day, Tašammat and Tašimmet, Sun, fate goddesses Ištuštaya and Papaya (who sat by the sea according to one myth and wove the threads of human life[251]), and the gods Ḫašam(m)ili and Zilipuri (denoted with the logogram ^{D}U.GUR in later texts).[252] The latter two gods, present also in the aforementioned list of gods worshiped during the KI.LAM festival, were

244 Yoshida 1996: 247; Archi 2002a: 49f.; see now also Schwemer 2006b: 238.

245 KBo 4.9 iii 11f. See Torri 2008: 177f.

246 ^{D}Šiwat/^{D}UD.SIG$_5$, translated to Hattian as Izzištanu. Cf. Laroche 1946–1947: 25; Otten 1950a: 126; Goetze 1953: 267; Yoshida 1996: 338ff.; Torri 1999: 13.

247 Haas – Wäfler 1976; 1977; Groddek 2001a. The old idea of the *ḫešta* to be located in chamber B at Yazılıkaya (Singer 1983: 113 with n. 73, references) should be rejected. For the location of the *ḫešta* on the acropolis Büyükkale, see Popko 2003: 317f. Various attempts to identify the *ḫešta* with various buildings on Büyükkale have not been verified in the sources, cf. Haas – Wäfler 1977: 121 with n. 151 (Building B); Haas 1994a: 618 (Building C); Meyer 1995: 132ff. (Complex BCH). On the group of divinities worshiped in the *ḫešta*, see Otten 1950a: 121ff.; Haas – Wäfler 1977; Yoshida 1991: 58, 61; 1996: 94; Torri 1999: 10ff. In Empire-period texts (e.g., Middle Hittite KBo 17.40++ i 5ff., Groddek 2004d: 104) 'holy places' and other cult objects of the *ḫešta*-house are listed right after the group of nine chthonic deities from Lelwani's cortege. Mentioned in order are: window, ^{D}Šitarzuna, wood of the bolt, ^{D}Zappa, hearth, and 'years,' see Yoshida 1996: 94f.; Torri 1999: 21ff.

248 Cf., among others, Haas 1994a: *passim*, esp. 269ff., 618, 720ff., 790ff.; Groddek 2001a; Archi 2007a.

249 Popko 2007b.

250 Otten 1950a; von Schuler 1980–1983; Klinger 1996: 167ff. Torri (1999: 53ff.) has argued, unconvincingly, that the Hattian Lelwani was in fact a goddess; see also 3.2.5.

251 KUB 29.1 ii 1ff., Kellerman 1980: 13, 27; García Trabazo 2002: 490ff.

252 KBo 17.15 obv.! 9'-17', Neu 1980: 72 (no. 27); Yoshida 1996: 94f. Cf. also Otten 1950a: 121ff.; Haas – Wäfler 1977: 87ff.; Yoshida 1991: 58, 61; Torri 1999: 10ff.

responsible for the household and the well-being of the family.[253] (Propitious) Day and Ḫašam(m)ili occur among the Kanesite gods (2.1), suggesting that the deities worshiped in the *ḫešta* are not exclusively Hattian.[254]

The presence of a solar deity among the chthonic divinities of the *ḫešta*-house constitutes a mystery in itself. A list of the most important deities of the state pantheon, written down in Hattian, sheds some light on the subject, for it mentions the Sun-goddess together with the fate goddesses: Taru, Wašezzil, Eštan, Ešduštaya, [Papaya], Pin-Kamma[mma] 'child/son Kammamma,'[255] Talipinu (=Telipinu), Wurunkatte, [Ḫa]nwašuit.[256] The text allows us to assume that it was the Sun-goddess of Arinna, in her chthonic aspect,[257] who was worshiped in the *ḫešta*-house. The Sun-goddess (Hattian Eštan) associates here with Ištuštaya and Papaya responsible for fixing man's fate the moment he was born, which may suggest that she also decided the future of a newborn child. In the Luwian milieu the task was accomplished by the Sun-goddess of the Earth together with the midwife and fate goddesses DINGIR.MAḪ$^{\text{MEŠ/ḪI.A}}$/Daraweš Gulšeš[258] (see 3.2.4), and in Syria this was the responsibility of the Sun-goddess Šapšu and her seven daughters, who were called Kôṯarātu in Ugarit.[259]

3.1.2. Local beliefs

The state cult in the capital does not settle the nature of the beliefs of the city's inhabitants nor even of the royal family itself. They must have been surely heterogeneous, reflecting the ethnic differentiation of the population of the land of Ḫatti. This fact is well illustrated by one ceremony celebrated in the royal palace.[260]

253 For Zilipuri, see Klengel 1988: 105; Yoshida 1991: 56ff.

254 Although the cult of the *ḫešta*-house, addressed to Lelwani and divinities from his circle, certainly belongs to the Hattian tradition; see Bo 4929 v 4'f. [LÚ^{MEŠ}] ^{É}*ḫé-eš-ta-a-ma* [*ḫa-*]*at-te-li ma-al-di*, Otten 1950a: 129 n. 27; 1972–1975c: 369; Torri 1999: 33; Archi 2007a: 51; Fuscagni 2007b: 83.

255 For a different interpretation, see Soysal 2004: 320, 679 ("*pin=kammama* für **wi*$_{i}$*l=kammama*(?)").

256 KUB 28.15 obv. l.col. 2ff., Bossert 1954–1959: 353; Yoshida 1996: 292f.; Taracha 1998: 12f. Cf. also Laroche 1973a: 83f.

257 See above, with n. 236.

258 Taracha 2000: 181f., 185ff.

259 Cf. Haas 1994a: 484.

260 CTH 645, cf. Haas – Wäfler 1976: 82ff.; Haas 1994a: 273f. The ceremony displays similarities to the festival of the month, CTH 591 (studied by Klinger 1996: 286ff.), known from descriptions

The oldest preserved text concerning this ceremony is written in Middle Hittite script from the earliest Empire phase and not the old *ductus* as believed so far;[261] even so, the presence among the summoned deities of the Moon and Hearth, who were given offerings during the KI.LAM festival, too (3.1.1), demonstrates that the ceremony was already well rooted in the Old Hittite period. The objective of this ceremony, which took place by the hearth, was to ensure progeny and prosperity to the ruler's family and house. The scribe read out the names of gods, summoning them in pairs: Storm-god – Mother Earth, Sun-goddess (of Arinna) – Mezzulla, Šuwaliyat – Grain-goddess Ḫalki, Moon – Išpanzašepa ('Genius of the Night'), Hearth – Ḫilašši ('Genius of the Courtyard'), male deities – Maliya, Maliya – male deities Waškuwattašši and Kuwanšeš.[262]

The Storm-god and Mother Earth pair, personifying the male and female elements, points to a different conception of the pantheon than that in the state cult. The high status of Mother Earth and her ties with the Storm-god call to mind the contracts between Assyrian merchants and the Anatolian ruler of Kaneš, with Aššur, Storm-god (^{D}IŠKUR), Earth, and ancestors as witnesses.[263] Later texts provide proof of the Earth cults both in the south, in the Luwian territory, and in Zalpa on the Black Sea, where the Earth appears as a daughter of the Sun-goddess.[264] This latter tradition, however, does not fit in with the listed group of gods. They belong for

of the Empire period (Bo 3752, Neu 1980: 179f. (no. 104); 1983: 167 n. 489, 365f., has Middle Hittite script, cf. Košak on-line: s.v.). Contrary to the suggestions of some scholars (e.g. Popko 1991: 244), however, there are not enough assumptions to identify the two ceremonies with one another (cf. Klinger 1996: 270). During the festival of the month, offerings were made to male deities and the goddess Maliya (KUB 55.39 and 27'), as well as to Išpant 'Night' and a group of Wa/Uškuwattašši and Kuwanšeš together with the Storm-god, Innarašmi, Tašimet and tutelary deities of body parts (KUB 55.39+ iii 16'ff., 26ff., Groddek 2002b: 65ff., indicating duplicates and parallel texts and including references; HW^{2} Ḫ 172f. s.v. ^{D}*Ḫantašša-*; cf. also KBo 47.249 rev.! 15' [^{D}*Wa/Uškuwattaš*]*šiš* ^{D}*Kuwa*[*nšeš*).

261 KUB 43.30, Neu 1980: 76ff. (no. 30); Košak on-line: s.v. "ah.," but there can be no doubt about the early Middle Hittite script of the text, cf. Popko 2007a: 65.

262 Neu – Otten 1972: 183ff.; Yoshida 1992: 143; 1996: 87.

263 Cf. kt n/k 794 rev. 29ff., Çeçen – Hecker 1995: 36; Michel 2003: 136. See also Haas 2003b: 131 with n. 1; Kryszat 2006a: 106f.; Prechel 2008: 123. In this case, contrary to the suggestions of the said authors, the logogram ^{D}IŠKUR does not necessarily denote the Syrian Storm-god Adad.

264 KBo 3.38 obv. 2', Otten 1973: 37; Holland – Zorman 2007: 32, 40; Popko 2007a: 65. Cf. also epithet of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, 'Mother of the Earth,' in a New Hittite text KUB 58.39 vi 11'f., 15'f. dealing with the cult of Nerik, see above, n. 236.

the most part to the earthly sphere and bear names pointing to the Luwian-Hittite realm. The Hattian Sun-goddess of Arinna and her daughter Mezzulla constitute an important exception. In this context they seem to have taken the place originally occupied by the Sun-god. Contrary to the Luwians and Palaians, the Hittites of central Anatolia dropped the male solar deity under the influence of Hattian beliefs (see below). The presence of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Lady of Ḫatti, in the royal ceremony is not surprising. The way in which the name of the Moon-god (^{D}XXX-*aš*) was written in New Hittite descriptions of this ceremony[265] suggests that the logogram denotes the Hittite-Luwian Moon-god Arma, just as in the texts of the KI.LAM festival (3.1.1). Šuwaliyat, Ḫalki and Maliya occur among the Kanesite deities; also Išpanzašepa ('Genius of the Night') can be connected with Išpant 'Night' from this circle (see 2.1). In turn, Luwian Kuwa(n)ša/i[266] was still worshiped in Lycaonia and Isauria in the first millennium BC under the name Kuwanza.[267]

The New Hittite descriptions of this ceremony show that the cult of the discussed group of Luwian-Hittite deities, protecting the family and abode, continued in the Empire period. In keeping with the later changes in Hittite religion, however, foreign deities of Hurrian origin were added to this group at the very beginning of this period. In the second half of the thirteenth century BC, the same group of deities appeared again in somewhat changed and extended form in ceremonies for the Storm-god of the Great House (É^{TIM} GAL), which is identified with Temple I in the Lower City of Ḫattuša.[268] In the cult of the Great House the king drinks a ritual toast to this group of deities, having first made offerings to the mysterious Tauri(t) and the deities of the traditional pantheon (3.1.1), and then to the Kanesite gods. These ceremonies go back to the Old Hittite cult tradition of the capital (see 3.2.6).

In spite of structural similarities, the local Hattian pantheons of central and northern Anatolia were characterized by considerable diversity. Deities from the same category often held different positions resulting from a local tradition or different historical paths of development of particular towns. In some centers, the Storm-god

265 Cf. KUB 58.38 i 25'. García Trabazo – Groddek (2005: 100) read incorrectly DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš*.
266 Otten 1980–1983a.
267 Popko 1995a: 169.
268 Güterbock 1970: 180; 1974a: 305 with n. 2, 306 n. 4; cf. also Popko 2002: 80; 2003a: 315; Houwink ten Cate 2003: 212; CHD Š 96f. *Contra* Otten 1971: 22f.; Haas 1994a: 775 ("*ḫalentuwa*-Residenz"); Schwemer 2004a: 404.

stood at the head of the pantheon; in others, an important role was played by gods of vegetation and crops having much in common with the storm-gods. This category of gods, with Telipinu[269] being most prominent among them, derived from the ancient Anatolian beliefs and must have been of great importance in local pantheons before the storm-gods took a dominant role. Telipinu occupied a high position in the pantheon structure and wherever the Storm-god was not the most important god, he was often at the head, as it was the case, for example, in the cities of Ḫanḫana, Tawiniya, and Durmitta.[270]

A goddess was also of considerable importance in the same centers, bearing sometimes a local name, but more often being called by the Hattian epithet Kataḫḫi 'Queen.' The nature of this category of goddesses is not quite clear, but there are good reasons to assume that they were goddesses of nature, fertility and wildlife worshiped over large areas of central and northern Anatolia regardless of the ethnicity in particular regions. Among the Hittites they were called Ḫaššušara 'Queen,' like the goddess belonging to the group of Kanesite deities (2.1). The epithet reflects perfectly the position of these goddesses in traditional pantheons. The goddesses with the name/epithet Amam(m)a/Mam(m)a probably belonged to the same category. They were worshiped in various centers in central and northern Anatolia, and known from later texts (3.2.3).

In her capacity as mistress of wild animals, Tetešḫapi ('Great Goddess') from the city of Tawiniya resembles the nature goddess Inar discussed above (3.1.1).[271] In Tawiniya, which was not far from the capital, the cult appears to have retained the traditional structure of the local pantheon with a nature goddess at the head together with Telipinu. This pantheon reflects beliefs going back in time to the remote past, corresponding to the communities of shepherds rather than farmers. In

269 Güterbock 1959; Haas 1982: 25ff.; Haas – Jakob-Rost 1984: 20 with references; Haas 1994a: 442ff.
270 Barjamovic (2005: 244ff.) suggested a location of Durmitta (Durḫumit of Old Assyrian texts) northwest of Tapikka/Maşat Höyük, with the Zuliya/Çekerek river marking the border between the territories of the two cities. In my opinion, however, we should rather look for Durmitta in the region northwest of Sungurlu, where local palaces similar to that from İnandık were recently discovered at Hüseyindede and Boyalı Höyük. For the latter site, see Tunç Sipahi's paper ("Çorum'un Batısında M.Ö. II. Bin Yerleşimleri") read at the 7th International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum, 25-29 August 2008.
271 *Contra* Haas (1994a: 311, 438), however, there is nothing in the texts to suggest identity of the two goddesses.

other cities, too, the goddess eclipsed her partner in importance. Za(š)ḫ(a)puna of Kaštama and the Queens of Ankuwa and Katapa are good examples.

Sun-goddesses appear as the supreme deities in other centers.[272] The most important representative of this category is the Sun-goddess of Arinna, who stood at the head of the Hittite state pantheon. In the local pantheon of Arinna,[273] in which the companions of the Sun-goddess included her daughter Mezzulla and granddaughter Zintuḫi, and the Mountain-god Ḫulla, neither the local Storm-god nor Telipinu played a role of any significance.

The absence of a male solar deity is characteristic of Hattian religion. The sun-goddesses, on the other hand, are ambivalent in nature.[274] They are mistresses of the earthly sphere (for example, in connection with the fate goddesses among the deities worshiped in the *ḫešta*-house and in domestic cults, see 3.1.1), which is reflected by the epithet of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Wuru(n)šemu 'Mother of the Earth,' while remaining celestial in nature as indicated by the designation the Sun was accorded among the gods: 'Goddess of Light, Queen;' in the Hattian version, the epithet of the Sun is 'Goddess of *kašbaruyaḫ*,' where *yaḫ* is recognized as the Hattian word for 'heaven.'[275] 'Goddess of Light' was used, among others, to designate the Sun-goddess from the northern city of Kakšat, and her Hattian epithet, 'Goddess of *leliyaḫ(u)*,' contains the same word *yaḫ*.[276]

Most often the Storm-god, Lord of Heaven at the head of the pantheon, remained passive. The most important role in the cult was played by his son, the Storm-god of a younger generation, who was not only a thunder god, but also and more importantly, the divine donor of rain. This determined his position in the land where the harvest depended on rainfall. Such were the Storm-gods of Ziplanda and Nerik. In this context, the high rank of the vegetation and fertility god Telipinu in local pantheons comes as no surprise, too, the god obviously sharing many traits with the storm-gods. The same is true of the Grain-goddess, called Kait by the Hattians

272 Klinger 1996: 141ff.
273 Haas 1994a: 585f.; Popko, in press.
274 Tenner 1929; Haas 1994a: 378, 421; cf. also Taracha 2001b.
275 KBo 25.112 ii 11'f., Neu 1980: 191 (no. 112); KUB 28.75 ii 21f., Neu 1980: 194 (no. 113). Cf. Laroche 1947: *passim*; Neu 1974: 126; Haas 1994a: 421. For *kašbaruyaḫ*, see Soysal 2004: 286, 536.
276 KBo 25.112 iii 23'f., Neu 1980: 192 (no. 112); KUB 28.75 iii 22'f., Neu 1980: 195 (no. 113). Cf. also Soysal 2004: 292, 588.

and Ḫalki by the Hittites.[277] According to a certain myth rooted back in the Old Hittite times, Telipinu as the son of the Storm-god "is mighty: he harrows and plows and irrigates and makes the grain grow."[278] The god Šuwaliyat is noteworthy at this point,[279] for he is close in nature to Telipinu and is mentioned among the Kanesite gods, appearing also by Ḫalki's side in the cited list of deities worshiped as part of the domestic cult. During the Empire period, the Storm-god at the head of the state pantheon appears in Hurrian garb of Teššub, while the name Šuwaliyat (denoted at the time also with the logograms ^{D}NIN.URTA and ^{D}URAŠ[280]) started being used for Tašmišu, brother and vizier of Teššub (see 3.2.1 & 5). There is no proof, however, of any connection between Šuwaliyat and the Storm-god in the Old Hittite period.

The storm god's inseparable companion was Wašezzili/Wašezzašu. According to one text describing a cult-related journey of a prince to the north of the country, to the neighborhood of the cities Zalpa and Nerik, Wašezzili was called a 'lion' among the gods (in the sense of 'hero').[281] The same text mentions a vizier of the Storm-god whom the gods knew as the Storm-god of the Countryside.[282] Unfortunately, it does not give his name. There surely existed other categories of storm-gods, such as, for example, storm-gods of the forest/grove appearing in later texts (3.2.3).

The connection between the storm-gods and the sacred mountains, the worship of which was probably related to the character of Anatolian landscape, is well evidenced.[283] The storm-gods were believed to prefer the mountain tops, presumably because storm clouds bringing heavy rains gathered above such mountains. The king was invested by the Storm-god to rule the land, but the mountains with forests and wild game remained in the power of gods, more strictly speaking, the Storm-god.[284] According to one myth, the Throne-goddess Ḫalmašuit allegedly lived in the mountains (see 3.1.1). The mountains in the vicinity, which were male deities and occasionally had anthropomorphic images, were worshiped in each of the more

277 Kammenhuber 1991. Cf. also Archi 2004b.
278 VBoT 58 i 29f.; translated by Hoffner 1998: 28.
279 Güterbock 1961a.
280 See Laroche 1946–1947: 27, 60, 95; Otten 1959b: 35ff.; Kümmel 1967: 86f.; Nakamura 2002: 72 with references; Archi 2006: 155.
281 KUB 8.41 ii 4'ff., Neu 1980: 183 (no. 109). Cf. also Laroche 1947: 187f.
282 KUB 8.41 ii 10'ff., Neu 1980: 183 (no. 109).
283 Gonnet 1968: 116ff. Cf. also Haas 1982: 47ff.; Börker-Klähn 1989; Lombardi 1997.
284 Lombardi 1996.

important towns; their temples stood either in the town or on the mountain itself, in the latter case not at the very top, but rather on a lower-lying slope.[285]

Springs were also worshiped as goddesses. They were considered either consorts or concubines of the storm- and mountain-gods. In one of the towns in the north, the wife of a local Storm-god was Taḫattanuiti, who was called among the gods 'Mother of the Spring, Queen.'[286] The name Timmeti, which was given among the gods to his concubine Tašimetti (probably also a spring-goddess), is written with the logogram *IŠTAR*, indicating her place among the love goddesses.[287] The logogram *IŠTAR* also conceals, for example, the name of a spring-goddess, concubine of the Mountain-god Daḫa(ya) or else the Storm-god of Ziplanda, for whom Daḫa(ya) was a favorite resting place.[288] According to one Middle Hittite text from Kuşaklı/Šarišša, concerning the cult of the Storm-god of Ziplanda in Ḫurma, his concubine there was E/Anzili, whose name is also written with the logogram *IŠTAR*.[289] Anzili was also the concubine of the Storm-god of Šarišša. In general, the logogram *IŠTAR* was used to denote the names of various young goddesses, wives or concubines of local storm- and mountain-gods.

Goddesses of this category are referred to by the logogram ^{D}NIN.É.GAL ('Lady of the Palace'), too. By no means does the notation testify to the presence of the Syro-Mesopotamian goddess Ninegal in the Old Hittite pantheon.[290] One of the goddesses of this kind was the 'Lady of the Palace' appearing among the deities connected with the Storm-god of Nerik (see 3.1.1); she can be identified with his concubine Tešimi, known from later texts. This Hattian name/epithet was very popular among the concubines of storm-gods in the northern territories. In nearby Liḫzina, the concubine of the local Storm-god was called Tašimi.[291] The same name is evidenced also in the form Tašim(m)et(i)/Tim(m)et(i)[292] (see above).

285 Popko 1999c: 99ff.
286 KUB 8.41 ii 1'ff., Neu 1980: 183 (no. 109). Cf. Laroche 1947: 187f.
287 KUB 8.41 ii 7'ff., Neu 1980: 183 (no. 109); cf. also Haas 1994a: 446f.
288 Popko 1994: 38f.
289 KuT 53, G. Wilhelm apud Müller-Karpe 2002a: 345. In this connection, Wilhelm (p. 350) cites an unpublished text 1320/z which mentions the Storm-god of Ziplanda (obv. 8', 13') and Anzili (obv. 16', rev.]8, 10). For the cult of the Storm-god of Ziplanda in Ḫurma, see also KUB 56.56 iv 1ff., Pecchioli Daddi – Baldi 2004: 497, 499f., 503f.; Pecchioli Daddi 2006: 125f.
290 *Contra* Haas 1994a: 382.
291 KUB 6.45++ ii 8, Singer 1996: 14, 35.
292 Cf. Güterbock 1961a: 13ff.; Haas 1970: 88 with n. 1. For this divine name with diverse vocalizations in writing, e.g., Tašam(m)at, Tašamet, Tašimmat, Tašimet, Taš(š)imit, Tašimi, Tešimi, see Otten 1950a: 122ff.; Soysal 1998: 60.

In Old Hittite times, the category of tutelary deities was not as developed as in the Empire period, when changes in Hittite religion introduced the tutelary LAMMA gods (connected with the Luwian circle), whose protection was extended with time to every person, object, and aspect of life (see 3.2.1 & 4). Gods with a stag as their sacred animal belonged to the early Anatolian tradition. They are present already on Cappadocian seals (2.2), but the Old Hittite sources do not permit any of these gods to be identified with certainty. Under the Empire, this iconographic type was connected with the category of the tutelary LAMMA gods. There is no proof, however, for identification of the stag-god(s) as the tutelary gods in the discussed period. Contrary to published suggestions, the god Kam(m)am(m)a, who was to become one of the most important deities of the Hittite state pantheon in the later phase of the Old Hittite period, cannot be proved to belong to this group based on the preserved texts[293] (see 3.1.1).

In the central and northern Anatolian tradition, a *kurša*-object ('skin(bag)') was worshiped as a tutelary deity.[294] It had the form of a bag of considerable size, which could be made of the skins of at least three different animals: ox, sheep and goat. The bag was used to hold symbols of fertility, crops, and all kinds of goods. 'Copper' *kuršas* (perhaps decorated with metal appliqués?) and a *kurša* made of linen are evidenced in descriptions of the KI.LAM festival.[295] The canvas bag was kept by the 'barbers,' which may indicate to its considerable size, putting into doubt the suggested interpretation of *kurša* as a hunting bag.[296] Old Hittite texts mention the House of the *kurša* in Ḫattuša, most likely part of the palace complex on Büyükkale. Later, the *kurša* became an attribute of various gods and was therefore placed in

293 Significantly, the god's Hattian name/epithet, Kamam(m)a 'High Mam(m)a,' resembles the appellation of the goddesses Amam(m)a/Mam(m)a, who most likely were goddesses of nature and fertility (see above).
294 Popko 1974; 1975; 1978: 108ff. with references; 1993: 323f.; Güterbock 1989; McMahon 1991: 250ff.; Popko 1993: 323f.; Haas 1994a: 454ff.; Gonnet 2002; Haas 2003a: 744f.; Bawanypeck 2005: 185f.
295 KBo 38.12(+)KBo 20.27 iv 9', Groddek 2004a: 24f.
296 The interpretation of *kurša* as 'hunting bag' (Alp 1983a: 98f.; Güterbock 1989a) is widely accepted. See, however, Haas 1994a: *passim* ('askos'), and Popko 1995a: 76 ("It would seem that originally it [*kurša*-] was worshipped as an impersonal deity and not as the attribute of another god. It would be difficult to imagine a hunting bag in this role."); HED 4: 274 ("*kurša*- meant specifically 'skin(bag)'... The talismanic aura may, however, go back to the primary meaning '(sheep)skin'."); cf. also Brentjes 1995; Bremmer 2006: 22ff. For the match of the second-millennium *kurša* in Anatolia and the first-millennium *aegis*, see Watkins 2000; 2002: 169ff.

their shrines. It seems that the aniconic cult of *kuršas*, typical of the local tradition, lasted through the fall of the Hittite state.

The beliefs of the Palaians are known only thanks to descriptions of ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the god Ziparwa/Zaparwa in Ḫattuša. His name/epithet identifies the god as a Storm-god.[297] His partner was Kataḫzipuri, whose name/epithet is of Hattian origin; however, this Hattian name probably conceals a goddess close or even identical in nature with Kamrušepa, who held a prominent position in Luwian pantheons (see 3.2.4; cf. also Kamrušepa's position among the Kanesite gods). In bilingual texts, Kamrušepa of the Hittite version corresponds to Hattian Kataḫzipuri,[298] which may suggest that the goddess, who was worshiped by the Luwians and Hittites as Kamrušepa, was given the name/epithet Kataḫzipuri by the Palaians under the influence of Hattian communities with which they remained in direct contact. The Hattian name/epithet of the Palaic Storm-god, Ziparwa/Zaparwa, could be explained in a similar fashion. The phonetic complement with the logogram used in some texts to denote his name, ᴰIŠKUR-*ni* (dative),[299] suggests that the Hittites called him Tarḫuna, like all the other storm-gods. It is quite possible that the Palaic term for the Storm-god sounded similarly with regard to Hittite Tarḫuna and Luwian Tarḫunt. Other deities who received offerings in the cult of Ziparwa had mostly Palaic and Luwian names: the Sun-god, whose Palaic name Tiyad has come down to us in sources from the Empire period,[300] the associated deities Ilaliyant/Ilaliyantikeš, worshiped already in Kaneš during the Assyrian Colony period, Ḫašam(m)ili, a god with Hattian name, mentioned also in the circle of Kanesite deities, Hearth, I[nar] (in later lists, ⁽ᴰ⁾Ḫašauwanza ᴰKammamma or ᴰLAMMA GUNNI[301]), Ḫilašši, and Kuwa(n)šeš.[302] Texts from the Empire period contribute to this list a mysterious deity called Šausḫa/il(l)a (before Ḫilašši/Ḫilanzipa), the fate goddesses Gulzannikeš, the deities Ulilіyantikeš (cf. western Luwian goddess of vegetation and wild fauna, Uliliyašši, 3.2.4), and Aššanuwant (cf. Aššiyat in the group of Kanesite gods).[303]

297 The relation with the epithet of the Storm-god of Ḫatti – Taparwašu was pointed out by Laroche 1973a: 85; see further Yoshida 1992: 149 with n. 84. See also a bread called *taparwašu* as an offering for the Storm-god, Laroche 1955a: 77; 1966b: 170; Yoshida 1996: 321f. Cf. also Klinger 1996: 156 n. 114.

298 Kellerman 1987: 229–231; Haas 1994a: 438ff.; Klinger 1996: 155ff.; cf. also Soysal 2004: 287, 541ff.

299 KBo 17.35 rev.? 6'f., Neu 1980: 217 (no. 134); KBo 8.74++ iii 16', Neu 1980: 223 (no. 137).

300 Carruba 1970: 75; Hutter 2006: 82f. Haas 1994a: 612, and Klinger 1996: 156 mistakenly Tiwat.

301 The latter notation, which would suggest a connection between the tutelary LAMMA god and the hearth, apparently derives from a misunderstanding of the original context.

302 KBo 17.35 rev.? 11'ff., Neu 1980: 218 (no. 134).

There are at first glance similarities between the Palaic group of deities and the earlier discussed list of gods, mostly of Luwian-Hittite origin, who were given offerings as part of the cult in the royal palace in Ḫattuša. These similarities are proof of a common religious tradition going back to the times of the Proto-Anatolian community. The principal difference is that in the Palaic pantheon the Sun-god takes the place of the Hattian Sun-goddess worshiped by the Hittites. The name Tiyad has an Indo-European etymology and, like the name of the Luwian Sun-god Tiwad (see 3.2.4), it derives from the same root **dieu*, which is also found in the name of the Greek Zeus. In Hittite, this root is the source of a general semantic 'god' (*šiuš*), while the Hittite word *šiwat-*, the counterpart of the terms for the Sun in Palaic and Luwian, is a common word meaning 'day.' As said above, the Hittites called the Sun Ištanu after Hattian E/Ištan. They must have borrowed the word together with the cult of Hattian sun-goddesses long before the period from which our sources originate.

3.1.3. Cult

The Old Hittite texts provide little detailed information on the subject of temples, equipment and personnel, the social status of priests, and the inner hierarchy of this group. Nothing is known about daily cult and its organization, nor how the Hittites classified cult ceremonies in this period. What we know of the festivals celebrated in Ḫattuša or in the provincies is very limited and incomplete because of the small number and fragmentary character of the surviving Old Hittite texts. Documents from the Empire period are a much more valuable source for the study of these issues; they also give an idea of how the Hittites understood the essence of divinity (3.2.6). Assuming that the tenets of Hittite outlook on religion and the traditions of local cults in central and northern Anatolia did not change in any fundamental way all through the existence of the Hittite state, then the information on local cults contained in the later texts can be used in part for the Old Hittite period, too.

303 Haas 1994a: 611f.; Popko 1995a: 73, 113f.; cf. also Yoshida 1996: 99 with references.

The god could take on an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic shape, but could also be venerated in other, aniconic forms.[304] A deity was identified with its image. Anthropomorphic figures were usually no taller than 20–30 cm, facilitating their carrying around during ceremonies and in procession or cult-related journeys. The gods were washed and dressed, fed regularly and paid obeisance to. The only descriptions of divine representations come from the Empire period,[305] but the god's figures are very likely to have looked much the same in Old Hittite times. Many of them depicted a god standing on his sacred animal. The descriptions confirm that war-gods had lions, tutelary gods had stags, and nature goddesses, usually shown seated, had a mountain goat and/or a bird. Animal figures could have also stood in the adytum next to other symbols and attributes of a given deity.[306]

Storm-gods were occasionally worshiped in the form of a bull.[307] This was what many of the local storm-gods looked like. Texts from the Empire period mention figurines of bulls as cult objects made of silvered[308] or tinned[309] wood, as well as of iron[310] or silver;[311] occasionally, a silver bull could be gilded, as in the case of the Storm-god of Heaven in Karaḫna, who was worshiped there in the late Empire period together with the Sun-goddess of Arinna as part of the state cult.[312] Storm-gods represented by a bull statue can be seen, among others, on the cult vase from İnandıktepe (see below) and in a relief by the Sphinx Gate in Alacahöyük (3.2.6). Live animals also played a role in the cult. The sacred bull of the Storm-god was kept in a special enclosure and was led in a ceremonial procession during some festivals.[313] Later texts bring information on a deer cult. In the thirteenth century BC,

304 Cf. Güterbock 1983; Popko 1993; Hazenbos 2003: 173ff. with references; Collins 2005.
305 von Brandenstein 1943; Jakob-Rost 1961; 1963; van Loon 1985: 30f.; Hazenbos 2003: 176ff.
306 On zoomorphic cults and animals of gods, see, in general, Lebrun 1986.
307 Güterbock 1983: 211f. Fragments of terracotta bull figures and vessels in the shape of a bull are known from Ḫattuša, İnandıktepe, Maşat Höyük, and Kuşaklı; cf. Alaura 2001: 1f. with n. 5–9 (references). On stone bull figurines from Çadır Höyük and Alişar, see below.
308 KuT 27 obv. 14', Hazenbos 1996: 100.
309 KUB 38.6 iv 15 (with its duplicate KUB 38.10 iv 1), Jakob-Rost 1961: 188, 196; KBo 2.1 i 28, Carter 1962: 52, 61.
310 KBo 2.1 ii 9-iii 8, iv 1ff., Carter 1962: 54ff., 58, 63ff., 68; Hoffner 2002: 63f.; KBo 2.13 obv. 21, Carter 1962: 107, 112.
311 KBo 2.1 i 34, Carter 1962: 52, 61.
312 KUB 38.12 ii 12f., Güterbock 1983: 211.
313 Taracha 2002: 13ff. Cf. also KUB 20.10 iv 9'ff., 'song of the bulls' rendered by women of Nerik in the cult of the local Storm-god during a procession (?) with the participation of the king, Haas 1970: 272ff.; Groddek 2004f: 20; Schuol 2004: 40f., 136; Stivala 2007: 222ff.

an enclosure for deer was part of an open air (?) cult place on the Pi/uškurunuwa mountain. The program of the spring festival of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM plant (see 3.2.6) expected the king's visit on this mountain, where he poured a sacrificial libation to the deer.[314] A votive text from the reign of Ḫattušili III suggests that a similar enclosure for sacred deer of the Sun-goddess existed in Arinna.[315]

Animal or animal-head rhyta were also used in cult practices.[316] Two silver bull's head vessels were in service during the rituals observed for the Storm-god and Wašezzili during the KI.LAM festival, while leopard- and boar-shaped vessels played a role in the cult of Inar and Ḫabandali. Empire-period texts bring many other mentions of rhyta in the shape of a bull or a bull's head being used in the worship of storm-gods (also as a cult image); lion-shaped or lion's head vessels were associated with war-gods and sometimes also with the deity GAL.ZU. Finds of zoomorphic vessels from central Anatolia,[317] definitely growing in number starting with the Assyrian Colony period, confirm a long tradition of using vessels of this kind in the local cults.

The god could also take on an aniconic form.[318] Mention has been made already of the *kurša* and the Throne-goddess Ḫalmašuit, who appears to have never had any anthropomorphic image. Solar discs could represent sun-goddesses and New Hittite texts describe images of mountain-gods in the form of a ^{GIŠ}TUKUL ('weapon'), possibly a kind of standard or mace, which was adorned occasionally with a solar disc and a lunar crescent.[319] It is not always easy to distinguish between an aniconic image of a god and his deified attributes, but the question concerns mainly later times (see 3.2.6).

A stela (Hittite *ḫuwaši*) often constituted a cult object, commonly made of stone, less often of wood or even silver.[320] Occasional relief decoration facilitated its identification with a specific deity. Stelae were mounted in temples or in different places around town, but most often in a sanctuary outside the city, in a forest or grove, for example. A deity could have been worshiped in the form of both an anthropomorphic figure

314 KUB 25.18 ii 6ff. Cf. Haas 1970: 65f. with n. 4; 1994a: 818f.
315 KUB 15.22, 12', de Roos 1984: vol. II, 247f.; 2007: 183, 185; cf. also Haas 1994a: 587.
316 Carruba 1967; Popko 1978: 87ff.; Güterbock 1983: 212ff.; Haas 1994a: 530ff.
317 Tuchelt 1962.
318 Güterbock 1983: 214ff.; Popko 1993.
319 Cf., e.g., KUB 38.23 10f.; KUB 38.29 obv. 23'f., Hazenbos 2003: 174, 176.
320 Darga 1969; Gurney 1977: 25ff., 36ff.; Güterbock 1983: 215f.; Popko 1978: 123ff.; 1993: 324f.; Hutter 1993; Nakamura 1997; cf. also Hazenbos 2003: 174f.; Fick 2004.

and a *ḫuwaši*. During ritual ceremonies the god's figure was carried from the temple to the extramural sanctuary where it was set up either in front of or behind the stela; after that, the rite was observed and sacrifices made to the god present in both forms.

The cult of the most important deities of the state pantheon and of other gods of supraregional importance spread in various centers of the kingdom, most often as the outcome of the king's religious policies. Naturally, the cult of a given god could be introduced in a new place or in a new form due to other reasons, too, for instance, under a vow (see 3.2.7) or in the sequel of a dream in which a deity demanded a new cult (3.2.8). Relevant texts, which also provide information on the mechanism involved in the emergence of new hypostases of a god, are of later date, but it is extremely likely that the cult practices described in them existed already in the Old Hittite period. One can even surmise that they were common in different regions and cultures of the Ancient Near East. It was believed that the god kept his current 'body' in the form of the existing statue or statuette, but shared his divinity with a new cult image which was subsequently treated as a separate deity endowed with her own 'body' and thus requiring a cult of her own.[321] Texts from later times draw a picture of several figures and aniconic images of the same deity, erected on different occasions, being present in a single temple. Beside the chief god, the temple may have had figures of other deities and their divine attributes and symbols, too, such as the scepters of gods,[322] and ritual equipment.

The adytum where the deity resided was worshiped on a par with her through sacrifices offered in a set order to the 'holy places,' that is, the most important elements of the architectural furnishings and equipment inside the shrine.[323] Lists of these *numina loci* appear in many festival descriptions. The 'places' mentioned most often are the hearth, window, and 'wood of the bolt,' occasionally also the ceremonial throne and the pillar supporting the ceiling. Sacrifices were made also on or near the altar that should not be mistaken for an offering table.[324] The altar was a pedestal, mostly made of wood, on which statues of gods and cult utensils were placed. The hearth played a special role, also in domestic cults; according to one text, it was where people gathered during the day and the gods at

321 Beal 2002a; Popko 2005a; cf. also Wilhelm 2002a: 68.
322 Popko 1978: 98ff.
323 Goetze 1957: 163ff.; Archi 1966: 83ff.; Popko 1978: 14ff.; Haas 1994a: 262ff.
324 For ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR '(offering) table,' see Popko 1978: 78f.; Ünal 1994; 1996: 40ff.

night.[325] The hearth was therefore an intermediary in the communication between humans and gods. The presence of high windows in Hittite temples, verified archaeologically, is also noteworthy, for it distinguishes these cult places from others elsewhere in the Ancient Near East.[326] Nonetheless, windowless temples also existed.

Terracotta models give an idea of what a shrine may have looked like. One such model, found at İnandıktepe some 50 km northeast of Ankara, depicts an adytum with a naked deity sitting inside it.[327] It has been suggested that the narrow chamber in which a man and a woman sit, depicted on a fragmentary relief vase from Bitik, c. 20 km northwest of Ankara, also represents an adytum.[328]

Most of the temples located on the acropolis Büyükkale in Ḫattuša, mentioned in texts of the Empire period (3.2.6), presumably existed already in the period under discussion. In the Old Hittite sources there is mention of temples of the Sun-goddess (of Arinna), the Storm-god, Inar, the War-god, also the House of the *kurša* which was part of the royal residence, and the *ḫešta*-house for celebrating the cult of the underworld deities with Lelwani at the head (3.1.1). The temple of Ḫalki must have also existed at the time, playing as it did an important role in the KI.LAM festival (see below). On Büyükkale, near the place designated as 'silver trees' (GIŠ$^{\text{HI.A}}$ KÙ.BABBAR), there was a *ḫuwaši*(-precinct?) of the Storm-god.[329] The god had also another *ḫuwaši*-sanctuary outside the city, beyond the *ašuša* gate and near a sacred pond,[330] where the main ceremonies of the KI.LAM festival were held. Contrary to the opinion of some scholars,[331] this place cannot be identified with the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (see 3.2.2). Much less is known from the texts about temples in other Hittite towns in this period. The temple of the Storm-god in Ziplanda stood on the city acropolis.[332] The temple of the Queen at Katapa is evidenced in a land donation tablet found at İnandıktepe.[333]

325 KBo 17.105 ii 15'ff., Archi 1975: 85f.; Popko 1978: 52f.; Haas 1994a: 268.
326 Neve 1973.
327 T. Özgüç 1988: 112, Pls 23.4, and 63.1a–c.
328 T. Özgüç 1957. I do not agree with Collins (2007: 124) that two relief vases from İnandık (see below) and Bitik "provide visual narrations of what are probably marriage ceremonies."
329 ABoT 5++ i 11', Neu 1980: 30 (no. 12); cf. Singer 1983: 99; 1986.
330 KUB 2.3 ii 14ff. with its duplicates, Singer 1983: 100; 1984: 64.
331 Güterbock 1953: 76 n. 2; Gurney 1977: 40f.; Singer 1983: 101; 1986; Hawkins 1998: 69f.; Schwemer 2006a: 263f.
332 Popko 1994: 18, 22ff.
333 Balkan 1973.

The archaeological evidence has also little to offer for this subject. Not one of the temples excavated so far in Ḫattuša can be dated surely to the Old Hittite period. Noteworthy, however, is the striking resemblance between the temple plans from the Upper City of Ḫattuša and those of the Old Hittite temples in Šarišša/Kuşaklı (see below).[334] The architectural complex excavated at İnandıktepe layer IV, was interpreted by the excavator as a temple of the local Storm-god "based on the inventory of finds and architecture."[335] Nevertheless, this building on an irregular plan, consisting of administrative, economic and storage rooms arranged around two (?) inner courtyards, gives the impression of a local palace. The land donation act discovered in it gives a *post quem* date for its destruction in the second half of the sixteenth century BC.[336] A 'sacred building' (Building 1) with domestic houses around it, discovered at Hüseyindede Tepesi near Sungurlu, c. 75 km east of İnandıktepe,[337] should also be considered a similar local residence. Relief cult vases (see below) and other finds indicate that the two towns were contemporary and that they were already in existence in Old Hittite times. The Hittite names, however, are unknown. A complex of rooms at Çadır Höyük near the village of Peyniryemez (Yozgat province), dated early in the Old Hittite period, is interpreted as "part of a temple," but this cannot be read from the published plans. A stone bull figurine, "nearly identical to examples from nearby Alişar," surely cannot be treated as a cult object.[338]

The only two temples of the Old Hittite period known to date come from Šarišša (modern Kuşaklı, 50 km south of Sivas), dated to the sixteenth century BC.[339]

334 Müller-Karpe (2003: 389f.) considers Temples 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 the earliest ones in the Upper City of Ḫattuša. Archaeologists also point out the similarities between the finds inventory from some temples in the Upper City and the temples of Šarišša/Kuşaklı; see, e.g., V. Müller-Karpe 2006.

335 T. Özgüç 1988: 76, 108, 123f., plan 1.

336 Mielke 2006: 253ff.

337 Yıldırım 2000; 2005: 775; cf. also Sipahi – Yıldırım 2001; 2002.

338 Gorny 2006: 34; Paley 2006; Yıldırım – Gates 2007: 294. Gorny's suggested identification of Çadır Höyük with Ziplanda appears unlikely, see n. 108.

339 P.I. Kuniholm and M. Newton apud Müller-Karpe 2002a: 342: "The dendrochronological dates for timbers from both the North Terrace Temple and Building C indicate that the buildings were erected at roughly the same time, in the mid and late 16th century BC, respectively." According to P.I. Kuniholm, M. Newton and N. Riches (apud Müller-Karpe 2004b: 163), the last preserved rings are: North Terrace Temple 1582 (+4/-7) BC and Building C 1523 (+4/-7) BC; cf. also Mielke 2006: 266ff. This difference in dendrochronological dates contradicts a suggestion made by Müller-Karpe (2004a: 109) that Ḫantili I (in the short chronology) or possibly Telipinu (in the middle chronology) founded the town in the 1520s.

Temple I on the North Terrace was located near the northeastern gate,[340] while Building C stood close to the hilltop.[341] The two feature a similar ground plan with an adytum and a large number of rooms around a central courtyard. Building C is believed to have been the temple of the local Storm-god;[342] burned down during Tutḫaliya III's reign, it was never rebuilt. Temple I functioned until the thirteenth century BC.

Geomagnetic prospection in September 2006 at Oymaağaç near Vezirköprü, a site identified by German archaeologists with the holy town of Nerik, led to the tracing of the outlines of a monumental building with three courtyards. Pending excavations to determine the function and dating of this structure, one can hypothesize that it was the temple of the local Storm-god.

Temple personnel was responsible for preparing the daily sacrifices, took care that festivals were celebrated on schedule, and protected temple property. The duties of this personnel and of different professional groups of temple workers are described more extensively in later texts[343] (see 3.2.6).

Male priests predominated in the priesthood, with a strict hierarchy in force in this group.[344] The highest ranking priests were the SANGA-priests (Hittite *šankunni*),[345] also described as *šuppaeš* 'sacred.'[346] Texts from the Empire period indicate that their colleges in the more important cult centers like Arinna[347] and Ḫanḫana were differentiated depending on the importance of the deity they served. High priests (LÚ.MEŠSANGA GAL)[348] were distinguished from those of low rank (LÚ.MEŠSANGA

340 Müller-Karpe 1995: 9ff.; 1996: 70f.

341 Müller-Karpe 1998: 96ff.; 2000a: 312ff.; 2001: 225ff.

342 Cf. remarks by Müller-Karpe (1998: 101) on the relation between the adytum of Building C and the *ḫuwaši*-sanctuary outside the city (see below). A libation vessel shaped like a pair of bulls was found in Building C, cf. V. Müller-Karpe apud Müller-Karpe 1998: 116ff. See also Müller-Karpe 2000a: 323.

343 CTH 264, "Instructions to the temple officials," Sturtevant 1934; Korošec 1974; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 33ff.

344 On Hittite priesthood, see, in general, Klinger 2002a; 2003–2005; Taggar-Cohen 2006a.

345 Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 140ff.

346 Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 148ff.) considers the SANGA-priests with this title a different type of SANGA-priests. Cf. also Popko 2001a: 328.

347 The priestly college in Arinna was composed of three high SANGA-priests and two high SANGA-priestesses, a SANGA-priestess of the local Storm-god, two $GUDU_{12}$-priests associated with the temple of the Sun-goddess, and – at least in the Empire period – seven low-ranking priests, cf. Popko 2001a.

348 Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 142ff.

TUR / $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$SANGA *ARKŪTI* / *dān pedan* or *appezzieš* $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$SANGA).[349] SANGA-priestesses are encountered much more seldom,[350] mainly in the cult of female deities; significantly, they played an important role in ceremonies dedicated to the deities of Arinna, the cult center of the Sun-goddess: Mezzulla, Zintuḫi, Mount Ḫulla, and the local Storm-god. Sometimes the cult of a god was celebrated in his temple jointly by the SANGA-priest and the SANGA-priestess.

The GUDU$_{12}$-priest was associated with cults belonging to the local tradition in the northern and central part of the land.[351] Some scholars identify this priest with the *kumrum*, who occurs already in texts from the Assyrian Colony period.[352] He participated in state cult practices at the side of the king or prince and appeared as a sacrificer, and also as a reciter, summoning the gods in Hattian, for instance, during the cult ceremonies celebrated by the prince visiting the cities in the north in the neighborhood of Zalpa and Nerik (CTH 733). The GUDU$_{12}$-priest, too, accomplished a magical cleansing of the royal participants in the ceremonies.

In the group of priestesses, the Mother of the Deity (AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} / Hittite *šiwanzanna*) played an important role.[353] Her function was also connected with the local cult tradition. The AMA.DINGIR-priestesses are known to have celebrated some cults independently, for instance, that of Ḫalki, but more often than not, they appear beside SANGA-priests and/or GUDU$_{12}$-priests.

A prominent position was held by the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess ('Lady of the God'),[354] who acted in many celebrations, especially during the KI.LAM festival, together with the king, royal couple or crown prince. Her presence in Anatolian cults of the pre-Hittite period is confirmed by mentions of a DINGIR.EREŠ / *UGBABTUM*-priestess in the Old Assyrian texts from Kaneš.[355] In texts from Ebla dated to the third millennium BC, this category of priestesses is referred to by the term DAM.DINGIR 'Consort of the God.'[356] In the Old Babylonian period and later, the

349 Popko 2001a: 329f.; 2004b; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 145f.
350 Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 312ff.
351 Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 229ff.
352 Hoffner 1996; 2007: 130. But see KUB 59.60: 8' ^{LÚ}SANGA *kumran* (acc.), Otten 1992: 37ff.; cf. also Klinger 2003-2005: 641. For the *kumrum* in the Old Assyrian texts from Kaneš, see now Kryszat 2006a: 104f.
353 Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 335ff.
354 Amantea 1985-1986; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 384ff.; 2006b.
355 kt 94/k 804 14f.; kt 2001/k 325 a/b 11/6.16.44. See Albayrak 2004: 8ff.; Kryszat 2006a: 105.
356 Archi 1998; Steinkeller 1999: 122ff.

EREŠ.DINGIR / *ĒNTU(M)* / *ĒTTU*-priestesses occur in Syria and Mesopotamia in the cult of the Storm-god Adad.[357] It is not to be excluded that she was a priestess of the Storm-god in Anatolia, too,[358] even though she played a significant role in the cult of different deities. In Old Hittite times, there appears to have been only one Lady of the God residing in the capital. In the state cult she was of equal importance as the king, presiding over the ceremonies in his absence and also being entitled to use the royal *ḫuluganni*-carriage. In the light of what we know about the EREŠ.DINGIR / *ĒNTUM* / *UGBABTUM*-priestesses in Syria and Mesopotamia, the idea that the Hittite Lady of the God was a princess of royal blood[359] is appealing but hardly borne out by any of the surviving texts. The Lady of the God also had an important role to play in the festival of the goddess Tetešḫapi,[360] proceeding from Ḫattuša to Tawiniya on this occasion.[361] There is nothing in the texts, however, to suggest that she was "the deity's representative on earth."[362]

Other priests and priestesses restricted their activities to particular centers and the cult of specific deities. The *tazzeli*-priest is encountered solely in the cult of Zipanda;[363] also the *ḫamina*, who frequently acts in association with the GUDU$_{12}$-priest, is evidenced mainly in this city.[364] The Man of the Storm-god (LÚ ^{D}IŠKUR / ^{D}U / *^{LÚ}*tarḫunalla*-?[365]) should also be connected with the Hattian tradition;[366] he participated not only in the cult, but also performed magical rites, especially to

357 Archi 2001: 25 with references; Schwemer 2001: 280 with n. 1928 (Mari), 312 (Kiš), 357 (Dur-Rimuš? in the basin of the Lower Diyala), 367 (Karkar), 380 (Ur), 466 (temple of Adad-Teššub in Nuzi), 483 (temple of the bull-god Tilla in Nuzi), 555ff. (in the cult of the Storm-god Ba'lu and Išḫara (written ^{D}*IŠTAR*) at Emar). On the *ĒNTU*-priestess in the cult of Išḫara in Kizzuwatna, see 3.2.6.
358 Note, e.g., her role in the rites with the bull of the Storm-god in the cult of Teteš ḫapi (KBo 25.155+KBo 24.98 i 3'ff., KBo 31.194 obv. 1ff., Taracha 2002: 14f.; Pecchioli Daddi, in press) and in the KI.LAM festival (see below).
359 Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 411ff.; 2006b: 319f.
360 Pecchioli Daddi 1987a; 1987b; 1988; 1998c.
361 KUB 20.17+KUB 11.32 iii 5ff.; cf. Haas 1994a: 731.
362 Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 385.
363 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 264ff.; Popko 1994: 73f.; 1995a: 77; Arıkan 2007. *Contra* Goetze (1947: 84 n. 15), Haas (1994a), Klinger (2003–2005), Hagenbuchner-Dresel (2006: 3), and others, the *tazzeli* should not be identified with the GUDU$_{12}$-priest. See Jakob-Rost 1974; now also Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 277.
364 Popko 1994: 75f.; HW^2 III Lfg. 12 s.v.
365 Cf. Singer 1983: 64 n. 32; Pecchioli Daddi 2004: 357.
366 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 321ff., 369ff.; Ünal 1998: 67ff.; Schuol 2004: 175f.; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 229ff.

cleanse a place and the participants and objects used during cult ceremonies. Similar functions were attended by the Woman of the Storm-god,[367] as well as by the Man of Zilipuri (^{LÚ}*zi/alipuriyatalla-*)[368] and the 'cupbearer' (^{LÚ}*a/ekuttara-*)[369] (who could take the place of the former), both occasionally cooperating with the Man of the Storm-god.

Cult practices followed a set and repeatable scenario. During the more important celebrations, like the KI.LAM festival (see below), a procession was held, in which cult symbols, figures of gods and the offerings intended for them were carried through the city, and the sacrificial animals herded along.[370] Apart from the main participants – members of the royal family, priests and priestesses, and other temple and palace officials – there were musicians and singers of both sexes, not to mention dancers and acrobats.[371] If the ceremony took place in an open air sanctuary beyond the town boundary, every effort was made to provide the deity with entertainment in the form of athletic contests[372] and various forms of cult drama, such as a ritual combat[373] and shows with archers and men in the disguise of wild animals (bears, leopards and wolves).[374] Such shows presumably referred to hunting magic in their symbolic meaning.

Sacrifices to the gods in their temples and ritual feasts constituted regular elements of the ceremonies.[375] Cult was also celebrated in royal residences, both in the capital and in the provincies. The palace chamber where the festival participants gathered together resembled the deity's adytum in its furnishings. This may also explain the finds of the relief cult vases in the local palaces at İnandıktepe, Hüseyindede Tepesi, and elsewhere (see below).

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367 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 433.
368 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 269f.; Nakamura 2002: 161f.; Arıkan 2003; Pecchioli Daddi 2004; Schuol 2004: 176.
369 Klinger 1996: 204 with n. 304, 673, 761; Arıkan 2004; Süel – Soysal 2007: 10, 16f. Cf. also de Martino 1982.
370 Cf. de Martino 1995; now also Görke 2008.
371 For ^{LÚ}ALAM.ZU$_9$ 'performer,' see Güterbock 1964: 95ff.; Badalì 1984; de Martino 1984; Güterbock 1989b: 307ff.; Klinger 1996: 748ff.
372 Ehelolf 1925; Archi 1978: 19f.; Haas 1986; Carter 1988; Puhvel 1988; Ünal 1988a: 1485ff.; Haas 1994a: 688f.; Gilan 2001; Hutter-Braunsar 2008.
373 Lesky 1926; Gilan 2001; Hutter-Braunsar 2008: 31f.
374 Jakob-Rost 1966; cf. also Haas 1994a: 686f.
375 Archi 1979b; Collins 1995.

The actual sacrifice,[376] which was accompanied by singing,[377] music,[378] and dance,[379] also followed a set scheme. After making offerings at the 'holy places' inside the adytum (see above), sacrifices were offered to the gods, usually described in the form of monotonous lists, giving the name of a deity and a short record of repeated actions. The gods received loaves of bread and specific parts of sacrificial animals (the rest of the meat being used to prepare the ritual meal), libations were made to them and ritual toasts drunk, the latter referred to in the texts as 'drinking a god.'[380]

The relief vases from İnandıktepe and Hüseyindede Tepesi perfectly illustrate such celebrations. The vase from İnandıktepe[381] depicts a cult ceremony in four registers. The upper two registers show a procession. The main two figures in full ceremonial dress are accompanied by musicians, dancers and acrobats. They proceed in the direction of an altar on which there are three standing figures of gods. An offering table can be seen behind the altar, along with a large storage jar and a ceremonial throne with two figures sitting on it. All these furnishings were undoubtedly part of the temple inventory. The act of sacrifice is depicted in the third register. A libation is poured on the left in front of a goddess (?), who sits at an offering table; on the right a much longer procession of offering bearers is making its way toward the Storm-god. A bull-shaped figure of the god stands on a pedestal, before which lies a bound sacrificial bull. The bottom register contains scenes of preparing the ritual meal.

A very similar cult scene can be seen on one of the vessels from Hüseyindede Tepesi.[382] In the upper two registers a procession is shown with musicians and dancers, leading a sacrificial bull.[383] Similarly as on the vase from İnandıktepe, the procession makes its way to a temple symbolized by an altar, offering table, and

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376 Cf. Haas 1994a: 640ff.; Beckman 2003–2005.
377 Kümmel 1973b.
378 Badalì 1991; Schuol 2004; cf. also Roszkowska 1987; de Martino 1988; Polvani 1988; Boehmer 1988; 1992; N. Özgüç 1992; Haas 1994a: 682ff.; Güterbock 1995; Polvani 1999.
379 de Martino 1989; 1995; cf. also Haas 1994a: 684ff.
380 Güterbock 1950: 96; 1998. For a discussion, see also Collins 1995: 86 with n. 46–49; Klinger 1996: 733ff.; Nakamura 2002: 71.
381 T. Özgüç 1988: 84ff., Pls 36ff.; cf. also Taracha 2002: 10f.; Schuol 2004: 56ff.
382 Yıldırım 2005; 2008. Both described vases from Hüseyindede are on display in the Çorum museum (September 2008) together with a small fragment of another relief vase from this site, showing a person preparing a ritual meal, like in the bottom register of the vase from İnandıktepe.
383 A procession in which a bull was led is depicted also on a fragmentary vessel from Kabaklı, T. Özgüç 1988: 100, 103, 105, Pl. 68.2; Schuol 2004: 63.

ceremonial throne with two figures seated on it. The sacrificial act is shown in the third register with the offering bearers approaching a deity seated behind the offering table; sacrificial animals are led: a calf (?) and a stag. Galloping bulls are represented in the bottom register.

In a procession scene depicted on another vessel from this site, a bull is shown with an acrobat jumping over it.[384] Never before has a similar bull-leaping scene been found in Hittite Anatolia. Texts might be helpful in the interpretation of this scene. They speak of acrobatic displays with bulls dedicated to the deity in the context of ritual processions.[385] The bull-leaping scene on the vase from Hüseyindede Tepesi brings light to bear on similar scenes known from Syrian and Aegean iconography, because it confirms the ritual context of these representations.

In the Empire period, the Hittites distinguished between regular festivals (SAG.UŠ / *ukturi*), celebrated annually on a set date in the ritual calendar, and 'great' festivals organized at longer intervals as part of the state cult, usually in six- or nine-year cycles.[386] Inasmuch as conclusions can be drawn based on rare and incomplete sources, it seems that in the Old Hittite period, most if not all the festivals were celebrated on a regular basis and the cult calendar was based primarily on the vegetation and agrarian cycles. The KI.LAM festival is a good example. It was first a regular festival and only later became a 'great' one. Most likely, festivals of the month were celebrated already in the Old Hittite period.

The tradition of spring and fall festivals marking the beginning and end of working in the fields must also go back to the period in question.[387] Relevant texts are later, but these ceremonies in Old Hittite times could not have been much different than described. A large storage vessel was kept inside some temples and we see it, for instance, in the scene on the relief vase from İnandıktepe described above. After

384 Sipahi 2000; 2001; 2005. Cf. also Decker 2003: 49ff.; Schuol 2004: 58f.
385 Taracha 2002: 13ff.; 2004c; Güterbock 2003.
386 On the great festivals of the sixth year celebrated in Ḫattuša in the 10th, 16th and 22nd(?) year of the reign of Muršili II, see Groddek 2002e. Haas and Wegner (1992: 247) also suggested a six-year cycle for the ceremonies celebrated in the *ḫešta*-house on the 11th day of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. It is not enough on these grounds, however, to conclude that both great festivals of the Empire period, AN.DAḪ.ŠUM and *nuntarriyašḫaš* (see 3.2.6), were celebrated in six-year cycles. The great festival of Telipinu in Ḫanḫana was celebrated every nine years; see Haas – Jakob-Rost 1984: 15f. Local festivals celebrated every three years are also evidenced; see, e.g., KBo 13.231 rev.? 7', Hazenbos 2003: 86f.
387 Carter 1962: 8f.; Güterbock 1964b: 70ff.; Archi 1973; Hazenbos 2003: 168ff.; 2004.

the harvest it was filled with grain. In the spring this jar was opened ceremoniously and the grain used to bake bread, which was then offered to the god in order that he shall recover his vital forces in the new season. The same purpose stood behind the washing of the god (*lavatio*), the magical sense being to imbue him with new life. The divinity was carried in a ritual procession to a sanctuary outside the city walls and set up in front of her *ḫuwaši*. Thereupon the statue was washed in the river or sacred pond by a spring, sacrifices were made and the participants partook in a ritual meal. To ensure the god's entertainment, sport competitions were organized, including wrestling, fist fighting and thrusting stones.[388] Similar ceremonies took place in the fall, although the god's statue was not washed at this time.

An extramural *ḫuwaši*-sanctuary and an adjacent sacred pond called Šuppitaššu were located c. 2.5 km south of the city of Šarišša/Kuşaklı.[389] The king participated in ceremonies which were held there in connection with the spring festival of the Storm-god of Šarišša, described in texts found both in this city and in Ḫattuša.[390] A similar sanctuary by a spring with a sacred pond was found at Gölpınar, c. 1 km southeast of Alacahöyük.[391] It has been dated convincingly to the Empire period (see 3.2.6), but it surely existed already in the earlier phase.

Meteorological rituals, which were celebrated "when the Storm-god thundered," find no parallels anywhere in the Ancient Near East. The sign given by the god caused a feeling of awe and demanded immediate reaction (cf. 3.2.8). An Old Hittite text describes an appropriate ritual that the royal couple celebrated in the palace.[392] The king and queen bowed to the Storm-god standing in a window and then the king drank a ritual toast to the god. Two black bulls were sacrificed together with nine black sheep, black bread loaves and wine poured from a black libation jug. Subsequently, the palace interior was cleansed by making offerings to the 'holy places' and the king 'drank the gods' of the Hittite pantheon (3.1.1).

Festival ceremonies carried out within the framework of the state cult took place in the capital or another city and were organized by the royal administration. This called for journeys to be made by the king, royal couple and/or crown prince in order for

388 See above, n. 372.
389 Müller-Karpe 1997: 118ff., 139f.; 1998: 108ff., 152f.; 2002: 187f.
390 KuT 6 and 19, and CTH 636, Wilhelm 1995b: 37ff.
391 Çınaroğlu – Çelik 2006; Yıldırım – Gates 2007: 297.
392 Neu 1970; 1980: 62ff. (no. 25); Alp 1983a: 208ff.; Wilhelm 1995a.

the festivals to be celebrated in the provinces. The king who was invested with his authority by the supreme deities, the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess (3.1.1), was responsible for the organization of the cult, observance of the cult calendar, and appropriate supply of gods and temples. Negligence in any aspect could bring down the anger of the gods and all due calamities on the land and ruler.

At this point, it is deemed essential to comment briefly on the nature of the sources upon which the reconstruction of Hittite festivals is based. The description of cult ceremonies in the preserved texts is never a protocol of specific events, but rather a prescriptive scenario of sorts for celebrating a given festival, or – to put it even more clearly – a set of stage instructions for the organizers. All through the existence of the Hittite state, these texts were copied repeatedly and edited in changed versions, especially in the case of the most important festivals. The new editions and different versions of the festival description are evidence of changes it underwent over time. On the other hand, copyists often simplified and abbreviated the original texts for their own, immediate needs, making them into a practical reminder of what should take place during a ceremony. After all, more detailed descriptions were always to be found on separate tablets kept in the archives of Ḫattuša. An extreme case in point are the outline tablets of the two great festivals of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM and *nuntarriyašḫa* from the late phase of the Empire period (see 3.2.6). Another source for studying the organization of festivals are the so-called *MELQĒTU* lists of food products and other goods received by those participating in a ceremony.[393] These texts are of limited value for understanding the course of the functions, but they are sometimes, unfortunately, the chief source of our knowledge, as in the case of the important festival celebrated in Old Hittite times in Ziplanda (see below).

Similar lists appear among the texts describing the already mentioned KI.LAM festival.[394] This festival took place in Ḫattuša and was addressed to the gods of the capital and nearby centers (especially the holy cities of Arinna and Ziplanda), worshiped in the state cult. The royal couple and the princes participated alongside the priests (including those from Arinna and Ziplanda) and the EREŠ.DINGIR-

393 Cf. Singer 1983: 147ff.
394 Singer 1983; 1984; van den Hout 1991-1992; Haas 1994a: 748ff.; Klinger 1996: 236ff.; Soysal 1998; Biga 2002; Groddek 2004a; 2004b.

priestess. It is not clear whether during the discussed period the KI.LAM festival lasted three days, as in the Empire period, because the preserved fragments of Old Hittite texts substantiate only two days.

The procession was an important point of the ceremonies. It is only mentioned in the Old Hittite texts, while a more detailed description is given in sources of the Empire period when it was surely already somewhat different. It seems that in Old Hittite times images of wild animals associated with the goddess Inar were carried foremost in this procession. Later on, however, it became a procession of cult symbols and 'animals of gods,' including for example figures of Šeri and Hurri, the sacred bulls of the Hurrian Storm-god Teššub (see 3.2.5). Also the ceremony in front of the temple of Ḫalki, during which governors of particular cities presented the king with products delivered for the festival from the granaries of their city, is known only from later descriptions (see 3.2.6). It is assumed that only some of the cities mentioned in this context in New Hittite sources delivered supplies for the KI.LAM festival already in Old Hittite times. For instance, it is doubtful to see in this role already at that time the southern cities of Ḫubešna and Tuwanuwa.

The procession carrying images of wild animals, which took place on the first day, left from the Inar temple on Büyükkale and headed for the Storm-god's *ḫuwaši*-sanctuary outside the city. The king visited all the temples on Büyükkale, made sacrifices to fourteen divinities in the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to nine others most probably in the House of the *kurša* (see 3.1.1), and then he proceeded himself to the extramural open air *ḫuwaši*-sanctuary, inspecting on the way the tribute from particular cities presented in front of the temple of Ḫalki. In the *ḫuwaši*-sanctuary, where the deities, gathered earlier at the House of the *kurša*, also came in procession, a 'great assembly' took place of all the celebrators. The main ceremony now ran its course with all the required sacrifices and cult toasts being made to the gods. The sacrifices were accompanied by singing and dancing, a running competition of ten runners,[395] and some kind of ceremony connected with a bull (dedicated to the Storm-god?) with the participation of the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess.[396] The ceremony at the sanctuary was repeated the next day(s) of the festival.

395 See now Hutter-Braunsar 2008: 26f.
396 KBo 38.12+KBo 20.26++ iii 6'ff., Groddek 2004a: 20f. Line 12' reads: x[G]U$_4$.MAḪ *ḫur-la-aš* SAG.D[U, cf. Taracha 2002: 14 n. 49.

The great festival in Ziplanda lasted a few days, perhaps more than four.[397] The king presided over the ceremonies taking place in the temple of the local Storm-god, but also on the threshing floor and by a spring, already outside the city. After he had left the city, the man of the bronze spear (= officer) headed the ceremony to Ḫalehare (see 2.1) in the temple of the Storm-god and in the local palace. Further ceremonies were set at a *ḫuwaši*(-precinct?) and once again in the Storm-god's temple. The text is heavily damaged at this point, unfortunately, and we do not even know the name of the described festival. It could have been either a regular festival or the *purulli(ya)* festival, the latter's tradition in Ziplanda, Ḫattuša, and Nerik (see 3.2.6) undoubtedly going back to Old Hittite times. No descriptions have been preserved of festivals celebrated during the period under discussion in two other holy cities, Arinna and Nerik before its taking by the Kaškeans.

3.1.4. Magic and the nascency of myths

In all of the cultures of the Ancient Near East, Hittite Anatolia included, magic was strictly connected with religion.[398] The *do ut des* principle was generally applied to worship and it was the same with magical rituals. The gods had to be appeased and divine intervention was besought by means of oblations, incantations and prayers. Yet, magic had a purely practical purpose, the objective being short-term protection or assurance of good things (the latter understood concretely as long life, progeny, prosperity and in the case of the king, also the respect and obedience of his subjects), as well as elimination of some fault or impurity seen very broadly as the cause of all illness and misfortune, prevention of divine anger revealed by divination or a natural disaster or sickness, and finally reversing evil sorcery and countering real threats. Faith in the effectiveness of magical practices (reduced to a specific set of actions and spells) drew from a belief in the uniformity and interrelation of everything that exists. Sympathetic magic reinforced with analogizing incantations assured an influence on the world through action on just one of the elements, or on a specific person or thing through its likeness or an object connected with it.

397 Popko 1994: 94ff.

398 For Hittite magic and magical rituals, see, in general, Goetze 1933/1957: 151ff.; Engelhard 1970; Gurney 1977: 44ff.; Haas 1977b; 1987–1990; Ünal 1988b; Haas 1994a: 876ff.; Popko 1995a: 80ff., 104ff.; Trémouille 2001; Klinger 2002b; Haas 2003a; Torri 2003; Trémouille 2004b.

The preserved magical rituals from the Old Hittite period are few compared to the richness of this kind of literature from the Empire times. Some are known only from late copies, there often being only small fragments preserved from the texts written in the Old Script. As in Old Hittite religion, so in the magical rituals of the period Syrian and Mesopotamian traditions are not evidenced in any way. The composition of the texts is not very clear and neither is their content. The authors remain anonymous, unlike the texts of the Empire period. Even so, the experienced practitioner called an Old Woman (MUNUSŠU.GI) appears to have played an important role in Anatolian magic from the earliest times.[399] In Hattian milieu, magic was practiced by the Man of the Storm-god (LÚ DIŠKUR)[400] and other cult officials, too. One example is a ritual for mounting a 'wood of the bolt' in a new temple (CTH 725), belonging to the category of foundation rituals (see below). It was performed by the Man of Zilipuri (LÚ*zi/alipuriyatalla-*), replaced in another version of this ritual by the 'cupbearer' (LÚ*a/ekuttara-*) and the Man of the Storm-god.[401] The former acted also in a similar ceremony CTH 726.[402] In one text, the Man of the Storm-god, LÚ*akuttara-* and LÚ*zilipuriyatalla-* are mentioned together.[403] Some purificatory rites required the participation of weavers of both genders, possibly because of the special purifying properties attributed to wool.[404]

Rituals of Hattian origin are distinguished by the presence of long mythological parts; magical actions and accompanying spells are ordinarily concealed in a narration of mythological character or else described casually. In any case, at least with regard to preserved texts, it seems that the repertory of magical techniques applied in the Hattian milieu was not as rich as in the Luwian circles where early contacts with northern Syria had tapped Syro-Mesopotamia's rich lore of magic. For example, substitution and impurity carriers are evidenced exclusively in rites derived from the Luwian milieu (see below). The local Hattian tradition was focused mostly on analogic magic, as in the association made between spinning thread and the length of life. The principle of binding and release was of significance, finding

399 Engelhard 1970: 5ff.; Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 581ff.; Beckman 1993; Haas 2003a: 16ff.

400 Ünal 1998: 67ff.; Haas 2001; 2003a: 14ff.

401 Süel – Soysal 2007: 10, 16.

402 Klinger 1996: 638ff.; cf. also Arıkan 2004: 33ff.

403 KBo 24.93 iii 25, Pecchioli Daddi 2004: 364 with n. 40; Schuol 2004: 168; Arıkan 2004: 36f.

404 Haas 2003a: 24f.

reflection in incantations and myths, as well as for example in the symbolism of vessels that magically 'detained' evil inside (cf. motif of bronze cauldrons standing in the 'dark earth' from later versions of the myth about the disappearance of Telipinu, 3.2.9), but could also contain positive values. In one old myth, the hands and feet of the Storm-god were stuck to the cup he held (see below). A ritual demonstrating ties with the Luwian milieu (CTH 416, see below) mentions whirling an eagle's wing or swinging a live bird which was then let loose as a typical form of cleansing, referring perhaps to the eagle's role of divine messenger in mythology.[405]

Linking myth with ritual should be seen as the most important feature of early Anatolian magic.[406] Mythical recitations and spells brought the gods onto the stage, engaging them in the ritual as guarantors of its effectiveness.[407] The psychological factor was not without significance, and equally so a positive impact on the imagination and mind of participants. Mythological themes are cited in non-canonical versions, passed on orally in different variants or else created on the spot by the person carrying out the ritual. Indeed, the relevant texts witness the process of myth gestation, stimulated by ritual needs. Cutting off the ties between myths and rites, which led to the canonization of myths and their transformation into literary compositions, did not begin to happen until the Empire period and concerned primarily myths of foreign origin (3.2.9).

Foundation rituals accompanying the construction of a new palace or temple belonged to the Hattian tradition and served to protect a newly erected building and its residents from evil; they are therefore a rare example of protective magic in Hittite writing.[408] Some of them are bilingual and the Hittite translation corresponds quite faithfully to the Hattian version.

One of the better preserved rituals for building a new palace (CTH 414) is reconstructed mainly thanks to a late copy.[409] The ritual was performed during the finishing works: "When they begin plastering new houses, they speak these words: 'The Throne says: When you plaster a house inside, plaster Long Years, plaster Wealth.

405 KBo 17.1+ iii 3ff., Otten – Souček 1969: 30f.
406 Oettinger 2004. For Hittite myths, see, in general, Güterbock 1961b; Laroche 1969b; Bernabé 1987; Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990; Beckman 1993–1997; Hoffner 1998; García Trabazo 2002: 75ff.; Beckman 2005b; Haas 2006: 96ff.
407 Polvani 2001; 2004.
408 Cf. Haas 1994a: 250ff.; 723ff.
409 Kellerman 1980: 6ff.; Carini 1982; cf. also Haas 1994a: 724ff.; García Trabazo 2002: 477ff.

But when you plaster it outside, plaster Awe, plaster Dominion'."[410] These positive ideas are confirmed in the dialogues of the king with the Throne-goddess Ḫalmašuit, who is a personification of the idea of royal authority and at the same time the king's divine protectress. The ruler makes a pact of friendship with her, receives from her beams that were selected earlier by the Storm-god, Ḫalmašuit also instructs the weavers of both sexes who are to cleanse the king and his family. Her messenger, the eagle perceives the fate goddesses Ištuštaya and Papaya, sitting in the forest at the edge of the sea and spinning the unending thread of the king's life. Other rites, called the raising of the Great Sun, took place in the mountains that remained in the power of the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god. In the presence of the assembly of gods, the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god make a covenant with the king; they entrust him with the land and make him young again, this being materially evidenced by a royal statue of tin with a head of iron. Finally, a rite was celebrated inside the newly built palace. Members of the royal family come together around the domestic hearth which would now become the most important part of the palace. Thanks to sacrifices the royal family will gain the hearth's favor and protection.

Part of a ritual for building a new palace was the myth about the Sun-goddess who erected her palace in the town of Liḫzina with the help of other gods.[411] Another myth, also connected with Liḫzina, about the Moon that fell from Heaven,[412] was recited during one of the meteorological rituals. In the case of these texts, as much as the tale about the destruction of Liḫzina by the Storm-god in a ritual context that is not wholly clear,[413] the mythological milieu suggests ties with territories lying to the north, in the lower run of the Kızılırmak. These texts, preserved in later copies, undoubtedly refer to the Old Hittite tradition.

The type of ritual which the Hittites called *mugawar* or *mugeššar* ('entreaty') is also thought to draw from an early Anatolian tradition. Its objective was to beseech a deity and win her favor and protection.[414] The vanishing-god myths about an offended god departing in anger were recited during such rituals. The myths which

410 KUB 29.1 iii 29ff., translated by Watkins 2002: 175f.
411 CTH 726, Klinger 1996: 634ff.; Schuster 2002: 151ff.
412 CTH 727, Hoffner 1998: 34ff.; Schuster 2002: 337ff.; García Trabazo 2002: 253ff.; Haas 2006: 120ff.
413 Groddek 1999. In this case the myth was probably part of an incantation in a magical ritual to heal an eye illness.
414 Laroche 1964–1965: 20ff.; Glocker 1997: 124ff.

have come down to us, however, are mostly of imperial date and hence not free of Luwian and Syro-Mesopotamian influence (see 3.2.9).

There is a tiny fragment of the story about the disappearance of the Sun,[415] written in the Old Script;[416] later copies have allowed the beginning and ending of the text to be reconstructed, revealing an entirely different scheme from what was typical of this group of myths from later times. The motif of binding so characteristic of indigenous Anatolian magic is present here. The mysterious Ḫaḫḫima (personified Numbness/Frost?) paralyzed the land, dried the springs and imprisoned the War-god, Inar and Telipinu, who had been sent by the Storm-god in search of the Sun. The Storm-god's hands were stuck to the (offering?) cup he held, and his feet too were caused to get stuck. Only the fate goddesses and Ḫašamili escaped the Ḫaḫḫima. The text breaks off in this place. The closing fragment contains a dialogue between the Sun and Ḫannaḫanna. A description of ritual ceremonies performed by the Old Woman and the 'Lord of the God' has also survived; it speaks of sacrifices being made for a number of days to the Sun-goddess and Telipinu.[417]

The extensive purificatory ritual for the royal couple and all the inhabitants of the land of Ḫatti (CTH 416), which shows links with the Luwian milieu, holds an exceptional position in Old Hittite writing.[418] It was performed in Katapa and Ḫattuša; hence, it is obvious that among the divinities to whom offerings were made there were the Queen of Katapa and Inar of Ḫattuša, together with the heavenly Sun (presumably the Luwian Tiwad) and Ḫantitaššu. A pair of demonic deities Ḫantašepa, with bloodshot eyes and dressed in blood-red robes, should be linked with Luwian realm, too. Their wooden figurines were made specially for ritual purposes.[419] The text is proof that during the Old Hittite period the Luwian magic tradition was already well rooted in Ḫattuša and Katapa, indicating indirectly that the Luwians had settled early in the land of Ḫatti.[420]

415 CTH 323, Laroche 1969b: 21ff.; Moore 1975: 164ff.; Bernabé 1987: 61ff.; Polvani 1992; Hoffner 1998: 27f.; Haas 2006: 117ff.

416 KBo 25.107, Neu 1980: 181f. (no. 107); 2002: 316f.

417 Groddek 2002d.

418 Otten – Souček 1969; Neu 1980: 4ff. (nos 2–8); 1983: 370 (no. 151). For KBo 17.1++, see Groddek 1996: 298f. (no. 31).

419 Otten – Souček 1969: 104f.

420 Cf. Haas 2003b: 133: "Was nun die inneranatolischen Ritualtraditionen betrifft, so ist es bemerkenswert, daß verschiedene Rituale luwische und palaische Rezitationen enthalten, welche

The realities of this ritual place it clearly in the Hittite magic tradition. Hence, there is no question of its coming from the south of Anatolia. Some magical actions and techniques refer to the local tradition encountered earlier in rituals of Hattian origin. Good examples are magical practices using vessels for 'detaining' evil inside and a ceremony celebrated in the mountains, combined with incantations addressed to the Sun and the Storm-god, which raises associations with the rite of raising the Great Sun described above. Other magical techniques reveal links with the Luwian milieu; suffice it to consider eliminatory rites using different color thread and a live goat as carrier (scapegoat motif),[421] and substitution with clay figurines.[422] Most of the techniques are found later in rituals from the Empire period (3.2.9). The Luwian Sun-god and the Sun-goddess of the Earth (see 3.2.4) were appealed to in spells accompanying these rites.[423]

wiederum eine offensichtliche Ähnlichkeit mit einem althethitischen Ritual zeigen ... – ein Phänomen, das eigentlich nur so erklärt werden kann, daß zu Beginn der hethitischen Geschichte Zentralanatolien, ja selbst die pontische Küstenregion einem intensiven luwischen Einfluß ausgesetzt war." Indeed, Old Hittite magic testifies to the presence of the Luwian ethnic element in central Anatolia in this early period, especially in the Zuliya/Çekerek basin where Katapa should be located (see 3.2.3). For socio-linguistic arguments, see now Goedegebuure 2008.

421 Kümmel 1968; Gurney 1977: 47ff.; Wright 1987: 15ff.; Janowski – Wilhelm 1993; Haas 2003b.

422 Cf. Taracha 2000: 207ff.

423 KBo 17.7++ iv? 7'ff., Otten – Souček 1969: 40f.; cf. Taracha 2000: 179, 208.

3.2. The Empire Period

During the Empire period, Hittite religion was transformed substantially. The most important gods of Ḫatti discussed in the previous chapter continued to be worshiped in the capital, the holy cities of Arinna and Ziplanda, and many other towns of central Anatolia. Even so, Luwian and Hurrian traditions from southeastern Asia Minor begin to play an important role in cult as well as magic. Syrian and Mesopotamian beliefs appear through the Hurrian mediation, deeply changing the world outlook of the inhabitants of Hittite Anatolia, especially as far as the power elite was concerned. This new religiosity found reflection in multiplying divine beings through the deification of all entities associated with the gods and their attributes, as if the god's anger could be aroused by unintentional omittance of any especially favored aspect of his nature or attribute. The concept of divinity grew to encompass weather phenomena like winds, clouds, lightning and thunder (all treated as if they were beings associated with the gods), as well as some abstract concepts like goodness, law and order, wisdom, joy, health and others. These concepts were represented occasionally under the guise of symbolic figures, for example, objects of metal.

The inhabitants of Asia Minor imagined the world of the gods in likeness to the real world around them.[424] "By and large the gods ... were human beings on a grand scale. They were subject to the same range of emotions, like love, anger, fear, jealousy; they sometimes neglected their responsibilities, they could deceive and be deceived, they enjoyed the pleasures of the flesh, and they liked a variety of entertainment."[425] One text puts the case very clearly: "Are the desires of gods and men different? In no way! Do their natures differ? In no way!"[426]

Kinship and the hierarchy in the pantheon structure closely resembled actual social relations. The gods were immortal, but no different from humans in terms of behavior and mental states. They were the masters, depending on people to serve them with subservience and willingness to satisfy their needs. And like a bad servant, a man or woman remiss in his/her duties could expect to be punished. As the god was deeply interested in being served, however, he took care of man, knowing

424 See, e.g., Steiner 1957–1971; Haas 1994a: 294ff.; Popko 1995a: 131ff.; Beckman 1999a: 519ff.; Bryce 2002: 139ff.
425 Bryce 2002: 139.
426 KUB 13.4 i 21f., translated by Bryce 2002: 139.

that otherwise the gods would suffer. Understanding this opened the way to negotiating with a deity by showing the discrepancies in her behavior. Similarly as in Mesopotamia, relations with the gods were perceived in legal terms. Prayers bring many examples of this kind of argumentation,[427] supported by vows of additional rich offerings to the deity, including the erection of a new temple or cult image (see 3.2.7).

The cool rationalism of the Old Hittite period in relation to the gods was replaced with time by an emotional attitude which is pointedly expressed in prayers and hymns edited according to Mesopotamian models. One of the constituent parts was a negative confession, listing sins which evidently demonstrates the adoption by the Hittites of the Mesopotamian understanding of guilt as a violation of divine laws, but not at all in the sense of modern moral standards. At the same time the bond tightens between man and god or a group of personal divinities. The one of a kind text of Ḫattušili III (1267–1237), commonly referred to as his *Apology*, is a veritable covenant made by the king with Šauška of Šamuḫa.[428] The elevation of the goddess is best reflected in the words: "I will celebrate Šauška's divine providence. Let (every) man hear it and may in the future my son, grandson and further royal descendants honor Šauška among (all) the gods."[429] The text is an invaluable source in the debate on the origins of henotheism, which had been maturing already for some time in the religious thinking of elites from different lands of the Ancient Near East and which found its first prominent representation in the reforms of Akhenaton. Ḫattušili III's bond with Šauška constitutes an interesting parallel for the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, which stands at the root of henotheism in the Israelite religion of the age of Moses.[430]

Complex reasons were responsible for the change in Hittite religion under the Empire. In effect of Muwattalli I's usurpation, followed by another palace coup and internal conflict from which Tutḫaliya I, son of Kantuzzili, emerged victorious, a new dynasty originating from Kummani in Kizzuwatna seized power in the first half of

427 The Hittite term for the prayer is *arkuwar*, a 'pleading' or 'defense,' as in a speech made before a court of law; cf. Laroche 1964–1965: 13ff.; Melchert 1998: 521.
428 CTH 81, Otten 1981; Otten – Kümmel 1985; van den Hout 1997: 199ff.
429 CTH 81 § 2 (i 5ff.), translated by Hoffner 2006b: 267; for a slightly different English translation, see van den Hout 1997: 199.
430 Popko 1995a: 133f.; 2003c. Collins (2007: 110f.) suggests conceptual similarities linking the Sinai covenant to Hittite treaties.

the fifteenth century BC[431] and ruled the Hittite kingdom until its ultimate fall. As part of their dynastic cult, Hittite kings of the Empire period worshiped the gods of the Hurrians living in Kizzuwatna and northern Syria, including Syrian deities and gods of Mesopotamian origin (see 3.2.5). There were therefore two pantheons in the official Hittite religion of the Empire period – a dynastic one, comprising Hurrian and Kizzuwatnean deities worshiped by the royal family (3.2.2), and a state one, in which significant changes were stimulated by the beliefs of the royal house (3.2.1).[432] The most important of these changes was the incorporation of the Hurrian Storm-god Teššub, the dynasty's patron god, as the main god of the state pantheon. Divinities of foreign origin penetrated also into the pantheon of the capital and local beliefs (3.2.3).

State cult practice, as reflected by numerous festivals celebrated in the capital and other towns in the presence of the king, royal couple and/or princes, referred to an earlier tradition. At the same time, however, and to a much bigger degree than in the Old Hittite period, the state pantheon was a reflection of the rulers' theological policies. A new geographic concept of the pantheon was taking shape even as the center of gravity of the state moved in a southerly and southeasterly direction. In the late sixteenth century BC, the Hittite kings lost control over the northern territories occupied by the Kaškeans for more than two hundred years; meanwhile the centers in the upper run of the Kızılırmak (Upper Land with the capital Šamuḫa) grew in importance, as well as those in southern Anatolia (Lower Land) and in the southeastern region (Kizzuwatna), in lands inhabited by the Luwians cultivating their own religious traditions (3.2.4). The deities from these centers took a prominent place in the Hittite state pantheon next to the old Hattian gods. Their cult was performed in Ḫattuša and in many towns in the province. During the heyday, after the conquests of Šuppiluliuma I (c. 1360–1332) and Muršili II (1331–c. 1290),[433] the Hittite Empire spread from the western coasts of Asia Minor to northern Syria.

The change in the state pantheon and cult did not occur immediately after the advent of the new dynasty. It was not until Šuppiluliuma I or rather his father Tutḫaliya III (c. 1380–1360) that the state pantheon took on its final typological shape as reflected by the lists of gods invoked to witness state treaties (3.2.1). It

431 Taracha 2004a for a review of the debate; further 2008a. For the history of the early Empire period, see now Carruba 2008: 83ff. with references.
432 Taracha 2005a.
433 For the dates of Šuppiluliuma's death and Muršili's accession, see Taracha 2008b.

took much longer to create a proper setting for the worship of state divinities and occurred only in the reign of Tutḫaliya IV (1237–1209) when the Great Temple in the Lower City of Ḫattuša was built (3.2.6). Time was also needed for change in Hittite royal ideology. This new ideology was expressed for the first time in lists of divine witnesses to treaties and in the royal seal iconography of the times of Tutḫaliya III and Šuppiluliuma I (3.2.1).

Continuity and change in the Hittite state pantheon and royal ideology of the Empire period perfectly fits the conclusions drawn from a conference on Steady States at the British Academy in September 2004. In the introductory chapter Harriet Crawford writes: "Continuity did not mean stagnation. Change certainly did occur, ... but it seems to have occurred not immediately after the regime change, but within one or two generations of that change, that is to say, after about fifty years...

"When change does come, the reasons for it are varied. We can suggest, for example, that it is only after a period of time that newcomers to the throne feel confident enough to modify the existing ideology; on the other hand, we have already seen that a conqueror from within the same cultural sphere as the conquered may share the same *mentalité* and this may contribute to a desire for continuity. Any conqueror may initially be anxious to cast himself as the legitimate successor chosen by the local gods, whose worship and maintenance therefore has to be one of his first priorities."[434]

Having defeated the Kaškeans, Ḫattušili III recovered the territories in the north with the holy city of Nerik. The reorganization of local cults after such a long Kaškean occupation, continued unbroken by Ḫattušili's successor, Tutḫaliya IV, naturally could not lead to a faithful restoration of the Old Hittite traditions. Gods previously not confirmed in the texts, including ones from southern Anatolia, now appeared in the pantheons of many towns in the north; new centers which had little to say in the state cult of the Old Hittite period now gained in significance. Nonetheless, the fact that a deity from the Empire period is absent from earlier texts can sometimes be due to the poor state of preservation and insignificant number of Old Hittite sources.

Central and northern Anatolia was changing ethnically even as the Hittite state enlarged its territories. The pestilence which ravaged the land of Ḫatti from the end of the reign of Šuppiluliuma I to the times of Muršili II, devastated Ḫattuša and the

434 Crawford 2007: 4.

neighborhood of the city. Rulers forcibly transferred Luwian population groups from the south and west of Asia Minor to the depopulated regions. In the thirteenth century BC, the people in Ḫattuša and vicinity appear to have spoken Luwian, Hittite being used only by the state chancery.[435] Ḫattušili III and his son Tutḫaliya IV followed a similar settlement strategy in the recovered northern territories. The resulting changes in local beliefs find expression in preserved texts from the royal archives in Ḫattuša.

3.2.1. State pantheon

From the outset of the Empire period the Anatolian Storm-god, who traditionally stood at the head of the state pantheon by the side of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, appears in the disguise of the Hurrian Teššub.[436] Teššub's inseparable companion was his brother Tašmišu, known in Asia Minor by the name of a local god, Šuwaliyat.[437] The Storm-god (Teššub) and Šuwaliyat (Tašmišu) are regularly enumerated side by side on lists of gods worshiped during state cult festivals. This change was clearly influenced by the beliefs of the new dynasty of Kizzuwatnean origin. For the first time also the name of the Storm-god is written with the logogram ^{D}U borrowed from northern Syria, appearing next to the earlier ^{D}IŠKUR.[438]

Change in the third position in the supreme triad of the official pantheon came with the popularization of tutelary LAMMA gods from the Luwian milieu in Ḫattuša (3.2.4). The logogram LAMMA denotes the Luwian term *annari*, corresponding to the Hittite *innara* 'strong, robust,' thus clearing the way for use of this logogram to write the name of the goddess Inar, regardless of a complementary fact that in her nature as a mistress of wild life she seems to have resembled the Luwian LAMMA god (3.1.1). It is very likely that in the lists of gods mentioning the supreme triad of the Sun-goddess, Storm-god and ^{D}LAMMA (^{URU}Ḫatti), the latter logogram refers to Inar, especially when Ḫabandali is listed next to ^{D}LAMMA. This logogram denoted also Kammamma, who replaced Inar in some lists (see 3.1.1), leading to his being perceived as a tutelary god.

435 See now van den Hout 2007a: 238ff.
436 As attested by ritual texts from the very beginning of the Empire period; see 3.1.1 with n. 225.
437 Güterbock 1961a.
438 Schwemer 2001: 76ff.; Popko 2005b: 10, 13.

Other texts attest to an *interpretatio luvitica* of the third deity in the supreme triad occurring in the new ethno-linguistic and cultural realm. Consequently, the Luwian stag god LAMMA/Kurunta/i(ya) and his consort Ala (3.2.4) appear after the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god. Other tutelary deities are mentioned, too. One of these was Zitḫariya, worshiped as a *kurša*-bag. It is not quite clear how Zitḫariya, chief deity of Zitḫara, ended up becoming the king's tutelary god and his companion on military campaigns. Perhaps Zitḫara's importance as a town is a key to this puzzle. The town is known, among others, as the place where the Hittite-Hurrian purificatory ritual of *itkalzi* ('mouth-washing') for Tutḫaliya III, father of Šuppiluliuma I, and his wife Taduḫepa was written.[439] Hence, it is not to be excluded that the new royal dynasty was somehow specially connected with this town.

Lists of gods receiving offerings during traditional Hittite cult festivals fail to inform fully about the modifications of the state pantheon occurring under the new rule. Not so lists of divine witnesses to state treaties, which are a perfect illustration of developments in the Hittite pantheon in the course of two hundred years.[440] In the earliest lists from the beginning of the Empire period,[441] the supreme triad is followed by the Moon as oath god, Šauška (denoted with the logogram *IŠTAR*) who had a leading position in Hurrian pantheons (3.2.5), and the War-god, whose elevated rank in these early lists is presumed to draw from his role in the ideology of kingship already in Old Hittite times (3.1.1). In the list of gods of the Šunaššura treaty (KBo 28.110+ rev. 80''ff.) the supreme triad of the state pantheon is followed directly by Teššub of Ḫalab and Ḫebat, topmost divine couple of the dynastic pantheon (3.2.2), no longer listed in this exposed place in any later treaties.

Lists of divinities in Hittite state treaties reflect the entirely new idea that had evolved with regard to the pantheon.[442] A typological arrangement of divine witnesses had been introduced already in the times of Šuppiluliuma I's predecessors,

439 CTH 777, Haas 1984; see now also Strauß 2006: 149ff.
440 For English and German translations, see Beckman 1999c: 11ff.; Wilhelm – Schwemer – Klinger 2005.
441 KBo 28.110+ rev. 80''ff. (treaty between Tutḫaliya I and Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna), Schwemer 2006a: 246; and KBo 8.35 ii 9'ff. (CTH 139, an early treaty with Kaškeans), von Schuler 1965: 110; cf. also Yoshida 1996: 10.
442 On the pantheon from the lists of divine witnesses, see Kestemont 1976; Yoshida 1996: 7ff. (references to earlier literature on p. 7 n. 1); Taracha 2005a: 92ff., 101ff.; Schwemer 2006a: 243ff.

but it was not until this ruler that it took on an ultimate form, to be repeated with but slight modifications in all the documents of his successors until the very end. Setting aside the Sun-god of Heaven for now (see below), the lists are headed by the Sun-goddess of Arinna, who is followed by storm-gods from different centers (both Anatolian ones and Teššub's numerous hypostases, among whom Teššub of Heaven figures prominently) along with tutelary deities (corresponding to the overall idea of the supreme divine triad). The arrangment of other (categories of) deities down on the list is as follows: Mesopotamian goddess of the netherworld Allatu (identified with Lelwani) together with Ea and his consort Damkina, three most important manifestations of Telipinu from the towns of Tawiniya, Durmitta and Ḫanḫana, oath deities Moon-god (sometimes with his consort Nikkal) and Išḫara, various hypostases of Teššub's sister Šauška and his wife Ḫebat, war-gods (among whom the three from Ḫattuša, Illaya and Arziya were the most famous), gods of plague Iyarri and Zappana, goddesses heading local pantheons: Abara of Šamuḫa, Ḫantitaššu of Ḫurma, the Queens of Ankuwa and Katapa, Ammamma of Taḫurpa, Ḫallara of Dunna (Classical Tynna, now Porsuk Hüyük),[443] Ḫuwaššanna of Ḫubešna, Tapišuwa of Išḫupitta, Kuniyawanni of Landa, NIN.ŠEN.ŠEN of Kinza (Kadeš), gods of the mountain- and steppe-dwellers, all the gods and goddesses of the land of Ḫatti and Kizzuwatna, Sun-goddess of the Earth (Luwian goddess of the netherworld, whose name is concealed under the notation of EREŠ.KI.GAL, sharing many traits with the Hurrian Allani; see 3.2.4) and a group of primeval gods of the netherworld with Mesopotamian and Hurrian names (3.2.5), finally – mountains, rivers, springs, Great Sea, Heaven and Earth, winds and clouds.

The lists express the idea of the 'Thousand Gods of Ḫatti' developed by court theologians.[444] This peculiar product of political theology, an amalgam of Anatolian, Hurrian, Syrian and Mesopotamian religious traditions, had no ties with earlier ritual practice. Not accidentally, the Sun-goddess of Arinna does not appear with Mezzulla, her daughter and inseparable companion from the lists of gods to whom offerings were made during cult ceremonies. Teššub's consort Ḫebat also retreats to a secondary position, leaving the position of the chief goddess of the land to the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Other gods, who are known to have played an insignificant role in the

443 Lebrun 2007.

444 Cf. Singer 1994; Karasu 2003.

cult, owe their high position to the importance of the center they originated from, for example, the Storm-god of Arinna.

Standing out in this conception of a pantheon is the idea of a territorial state, which nonetheless failed to cover all of the lands making up the Hittite Empire. In spite of the fact that the conquests of Šuppiluliuma I and Muršili II extended Hittite rule from the western coasts of Asia Minor to northern Syria, the state pantheon included foremost the gods of Ḫatti from the region in the bend of the Kızılırmak, those of the Upper Land in the upper course of this river, the Lower Land incorporating the Konya Plain and eastern Pamphylia, and Kizzuwatna in southeastern Anatolia. It is only exceptionally that the gods of northern Syria are mentioned in treaties made by the Hittites with rulers from cities in this region.

The geographic character of the state pantheon is illustrated even more distinctly by the royal prayers addressed to all the gods of the land. The best preserved example is a prayer of Muwattalli II (c. 1290–1273), CTH 381 (see 3.2.7).[445] The list of gods incorporated in it takes on the form of a roll of local pantheons listed by importance of particular centers at the time of the text's redaction. The order used to change in reflection of the current situation. Even so, the territorial extent of the Hittite gods' realm corresponded to that conveyed by the lists of divine witnesses to the state treaties. The said prayer records the gods of Šamuḫa and Katapa right after those of the holy town of Arinna but before those of Ḫattuša, reflecting a situation that existed at the beginning of the rule of Muwattalli II, when Šamuḫa appears to have been his temporary residence.[446] Katapa gained in importance as a royal seat in the later years of his father Muršili II.[447] There is no mention as yet of the city of Tarḫuntašša, which Muwattalli II made his capital a few years into his reign, taking with him from Ḫattuša the gods of the land and the ancestors of the royal family.[448] In a later prayer of this ruler, Tarḫuntašša is mentioned right after Arinna and Ḫattuša, while Šamuḫa is far down on the list.[449] The gods returned to the old capital in the reign of Muršili III/Urḫi-Teššub (c. 1273–1267).[450]

445 Singer 1996; 2002a: 85ff.; García Trabazo 2002: 331ff.

446 Taracha 2007a: 757f.

447 Popko 2001b.

448 *Apology* (CTH 81) i 75 – ii 2, ii 52f., Otten 1981: 14f.; KBo 6.29+ i 30f. On these events, see Klengel 1999: 210; Bryce 2005: 230f.

449 KBo 9.98++, Singer 1996: 165ff.

450 KUB 21.15 i 11'f., Houwink ten Cate 1974: 125; 1994: 234; Bryce 2005: 253.

The ideology of kingship in the early Empire period drew upon Old Hittite tradition.[451] Testifying to the continuity is the high position of the War-god among the divine witnesses in the treaties of the predecessors of Šuppiluliuma I (see above), as well as the presence of the statues of Ḫattušili I in the temples of the Storm-god and the War-god on the acropolis Büyükkale, which were still worshiped there (in the former temple together with statues of the most prominent kings of the new dynasty, Tutḫaliya I, Šuppiluliuma I and Muršili II) in the thirteenth century BC.[452]

The enthronement and anointing of a new king and his royal consort was a religious act. On this day an ancient tradition called for the royal couple to make offerings to the Sun-goddess of Arinna; cult ceremonies were held simultaneously in the temples of all of the gods (in Ḫattuša?), as well as in Ziplanda, Ankuwa and Taḫurpa.[453] In the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza of Mittani, the Sun-goddess of Arinna is said to "govern kingship and queenship in Ḫatti."[454] She was the real ruler of the land, the king being absolutely in her service.[455]

The ideology of kingship had already changed by this time. In a Palaic incantation it is the Sun-god Tiyad who is called the father and mother of the king.[456] By this reference to the Sun-god the incantation documents change in the ideology of kingship which is to be attributed to Syro-Mesopotamian ideas.[457] The change is evident also in the arrangement of the list of divine witnesses to state treaties where the Sun-god of Heaven is mentioned first. Simultaneously the Anatolian War-god lost his exposed place, appearing lower down, together with other war-gods of different origin (see above). This new arrangement of the list of divine witnesses is attested for the first time in the documents of Šuppiluliuma I, but it cannot be excluded that it was introduced already in the reign of Tutḫaliya III.[458]

451 On the ideology of kingship and the enthronement ceremonies, see Kümmel 1967: 43ff.; van den Hout 1991; Haas 1994a: 188ff.; 1999; Groddek 2002c; Yakubovich 2005; Collins 2007: 92ff.

452 CTH 660, Torri 2008 with references.

453 KUB 12.54 rev. 1'ff. with parallels in other texts, Archi 1966: 77; Yoshida 1996: 197; Crasso 2006: 342f.; cf. also Kümmel 1967: 46f.

454 KBo 1.1 rev. 35', 40' (Akkadian), Beckman 1999c: 46f.; G. Wilhelm apud Wilhelm – Schwemer – Klinger 2005: 119. Cf. also Yoshida 1996: 12ff.

455 Houwink ten Cate 1987.

456 KUB 35.165 obv. 21f. with its parallel KUB 32.17 7'f., Yakubovich 2005: 108.

457 Cf. Beckman 2002b.

458 The list of divine witnesses in the treaty with Ḫuqqana of Ḫayaša from the early years of Šuppiluliuma I (CTH 42, Beckman 1999c: 28f.; J. Klinger apud Wilhelm – Schwemer – Klinger

In the Mesopotamian tradition, the Sun-god Šamaš, who sees everything, came to be regarded as a god of truth, justice and right. He was directly interested in the affairs of mankind and watched over the cosmic order founded on the legitimacy of royal authority. This tradition was embodied in Hittite hymns and prayers to the Sun-god, inspired by Babylonian models, in which the god is referred to by the Hittite name Ištanu.[459] Significantly, the author of one of these prayers (CTH 373) was the brother of Tutḫaliya III, Kantuzzili (see 3.2.7). Perhaps the appearance of these prayers in the royal archives in Ḫattuša should be connected with the change occurring in the royal ideology discussed above.

Many of the characteristics of Šamaš were transferred by the agency of the Hurrian Šimige (3.2.5) to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, which sometimes led to the two solar deities being identified with one another in ritual practice. One of the texts speaks of offerings made to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (with Mezzula) and to the 'heavenly Sun of Arinna,' the latter being certainly mistaken for the Sun-god of Heaven.[460] In the Hurrian-Hittite *itkalzi* ritual the Sun-goddess of Arinna appears in the place of the Hurrian Šimige together with his consort Ayu-Ikalti[461] (see 3.2.2). The logogram ^{D}UTU$^{A\check{S}}$ (^{D}*ŠAMAŠ*) is also attested as a notation for the goddess's name.[462] At the same time, the Sun-goddess starts being referred to in texts from the Empire period as 'of Arinna' in order to distinguish her from the male solar deities; this epithet does not appear with her name in any of the Old Hittite sources.

From Tutḫaliya III,[463] royal seal iconography had expressed the tutelary role of the Sun-god of Heaven with regard to the king as an aedicula with a winged solar disc above the hieroglyphs of the king's name.[464] This royal propaganda was given

2005: 108f.) probably refers to an earlier redaction of the Ḫayaša treaty from the times of Tutḫaliya III; see Carruba 1988b; cf. also Taracha 2005a: 94 n. 20.

459 Güterbock 1958. Cf. also Haas 1994a: 141f.; Wilhelm 1994; Singer 2002a: 30f. with references.

460 KUB 25.20+KUB 57.99 v 4'ff., Yoshida 1996: 108, 312.

461 KUB 29.8++ i 23f., Haas 1984: 87 (no. 9); Yoshida 1996: 151; see now also Strauß 2006: 84.

462 Kassian – Yakubovich 2004.

463 Salvini 1990.

464 Some scholars (e.g. Dinçol 2002: 90; Soysal 2003: 53) interpret the winged solar disc in these scenes as a hieroglyph for the royal title ^{D}UTU$^{\check{S}I}$ 'My Sun.' In my opinion, however (see also Taracha 2005a: 95), the timely appearance of the aedicula composition concurrently with the elevation of the Sun-god in the lists of divine witnesses of Hittite state treaties favors the idea that the winged solar disc actually symbolizes the Sun-god; cf. also an image of Šimige below a winged disc at Yazılıkaya (3.2.2), in attire that resembles the king's priestly dress in iconography of the late Empire period. Otten (1987: 32) is correct in stating that nothing is

a new expression under Muwattalli II with the emergence of the so-called *Umarmung* scene in which Teššub/Tarḫunt of Heaven extends his protection to the king. The representation of the ruler in the embrace of Teššub/Tarḫunt of Heaven is repeated on seals of the successors of Muwattalli II – Muršili III/Urḫi-Teššub and Tutḫaliya IV.[465] On the seal of the latter king the *Umarmung* scene is incorporated in an elaborate aedicula with the winged disc of the Sun-god above the hieroglyphs of the king's both, Hittite and Hurrian, names that are flanked by the supreme pair of the state pantheon, the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god embracing Tutḫaliya. In thirteenth-century iconography the relation between the king and the Sun-god and Storm-god is visualized in the symbolic identification of the king with both deities: the king as Sun-god in his priestly dress and as Storm-god in military attire.[466]

The Sun-god and the Storm-god were the Gods of Kingship *par excellence*.[467] A fragmentary prayer brings the theme of an orphan king, who calls himself the child and at the same time a steward of the Sun-god and the Storm-god: "[I] have no [father], I have no mother. You, O gods, (are) [my] father, [you (are)] my [mother]. You (are like) His Majesty (lit. My Sun) and I, I (am like?) your subjects. You alone, O gods, have put the kingsh[ip] in my [ha]nd."[468] The reverse of the text reads: "O Sun-god and Storm-god! [Incline(?)] good eyes and regard the king and queen with favorable [eyes] and keep them alive!"[469] Calling someone 'father and mother' was the customary way of expressing respect in Hittite language; it is attested in Old Hittite sources beginning with the Anitta text (see 3.1.1).

The group of the Gods of Kingship is not defined in the preserved texts. It must have included other deities as well. One text from the times of Muršili II mentions the royal gods next to the Sun-goddess of Arinna: "O Sun-goddess of Arinna (and)

better proof of change in ideology than a new iconography of the royal seals. The royal title 'My Sun' is attested already in the Old Hittite period; see Carruba 2002. It must have been introduced earlier on, regardless of changes in the ideology of kingship in the Empire period.

465 Taracha 2005a: 94; 2008a. Cf. also Otten 1993: 10ff., 22ff., 35ff.; Singer 1996: 68; Klengel 2002; Herbordt 2006. For a new bulla (Bo 2003/12) with an impression of the *Umarmung* seal of Muwattalli II showing the king in the embrace of Teššub/Tarḫunt, found "im Tal vor Sarıkale," see Seeher 2004: 70, 71 fig. 22.

466 Güterbock 1993; van den Hout 1995; Bonatz 2007: esp. 125f.

467 van den Hout 1998: 73.

468 KUB 43.68(+)36.91 obv. 8'ff., translated by Singer 2002a: 24; cf. also van den Hout 1998: 74; Yakubovich 2005: 111.

469 KUB 43.68(+)36.91 rev. 4'f., translated by Singer 2002a: 25; cf. also van den Hout 1998: 74.

Gods of Kingship, [gran]t [now] to Muršili the king a mighty weapon, [ ]..., victory, and growth in (lit. of) the land of Ḫatti."[470] The issue should be viewed against a broader Near Eastern background.[471] According to Nicolas Wyatt, the "term 'royal gods' means that, apart from any other functions they performed, they represented in the celestial world of the gods apotheosized aspects of kingship and were believed to be present in some measure in the person of the reigning king."[472]

In official propaganda which supported the legitimacy of power and the rights of the heir to the throne, family relations between the gods of the dynastic pantheon (3.2.2) were transposed onto members of the royal family. The seals of Urḫi-Teššub as his father's heir presumptive (*tuḫkanti*) are good examples, for they show him in the embrace of Šarrumma, son of Teššub of Kizzuwatna.[473] A little later, in the new political situation after the reconquest of northern territories by Ḫattušili III, who also declared the Storm-god of Nerik his divine patron, court theologians revamped the traditional Hittite pantheon according to principles of family ties, presumably modeling their efforts on the organization of the dynastic pantheon. The Storm-gods of the holy cities of Nerik and Ziplanda became the sons of the supreme couple, Storm-god of Ḫatti and Sun-goddess of Arinna. This allowed Ḫattušili III to include the Storm-god of Nerik in the royal propaganda as a guarantor of royal succession for his son Tutḫaliya, proclaimed archpriest of the god.[474] At the same time, however, Šarrumma was Tutḫaliya's personal god and remained so even after his accession to the throne.[475]

The efforts of the court theologians to find references between the state and dynastic pantheons led to attempts to equate the Sun-goddess of Arinna and Teššub's consort Ḫebat.[476] Direct evidence of this approach appears in a prayer of queen

470 VS NF 12.7 iv 16f., Groddek 2002c: 84, 85, 90.

471 See, e.g., Wyatt's comments (2007: 47ff.) on Baal, Aṯtar and Šapšu as royal deities in Ugarit.

472 Wyatt 2007: 48.

473 Hawkins 2001.

474 KUB 36.90 obv. 15ff., Singer 2002a: 106; cf. also Yakubovich 2005: 126.

475 For relief no. 81 from Yazılıkaya with Šarrumma embracing Tutḫaliya IV, see Orthmann 1983 with references; Ehringhaus 2005: 28f. Cf. also below, 3.2.10.

476 This had place already in an early phase of the Empire period. For example, in the *itkalzi* ritual for Tutḫaliya III, father of Šuppiluliuma I, Teššub's partner is Ḫebat / Sun-goddess of Arinna, KUB 29.8 i 11, Haas 1984: 86 (no. 9). Cf. also the Muwattalli II prayer (CTH 381) where the supreme couple of the state pantheon: Storm-god, called *piḫaššašši* in this text, and Sun-goddess of Arinna / Ḫebat, queen of Heaven, are mentioned among the gods worshiped in Šamuḫa, KUB 6.45 i 41, Singer 1996: 10, 33.

Puduḫepa, wife of Ḫattušili III: "O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the lands! In Ḫatti you gave yourself the name Sun-goddess of Arinna, but the land which you made that of the cedar, there you gave yourself the name Ḫebat."[477] Ideas of this kind could not expect to find understanding among ordinary inhabitants of the land of Ḫatti.

3.2.2. Dynastic pantheon

Like many other Hurrian and Hurrianized royal families of eastern Anatolia, Syria and northern Mesopotamia, including the kings of Mittani, the new dynasty had Teššub as its divine protector. This may also explain the occurrence of Hittite adaptations of the Hurrian myths belonging to the Kumarbi cycle in the royal archives of Ḫattuša (3.2.9). As a matter of fact, "the definition 'Cycle of Kumarbi' may no longer have such solid foundations as held up to now and, indeed, one might speak of the 'Cycle of Teššub' or the 'Cycle of the Storm-God.' We are therefore led to believe that the different accounts might bear one and the same epilogue: the advent of the Storm-God at the head of the pantheon."[478] Seeking an explanation for the importance of the Kumarbi cycle for the Hittite royal court, we now recognize that a more adequate interpretation of these myths lies in the royal ideology of the Empire period. The Kumarbi cycle as a whole, which describes Teššub's victory over Kumarbi, once the ruler of the world, and various representatives of chaos, is indeed part of the narrative tradition of the *Chaoskampf* in Syrian and Mesopotamian mythical and epic texts.[479]

Hittite kings referred to one of Teššub's hypostases in a special way as Teššub (of Ḫalab) of Kummani, place of origin of the dynasty. In the Hittite capital he was worshiped as Teššub of Ḫalab of Ḫattuša (3.2.6). His allomorphs were the Storm-god

477 KUB 21.27 i 3ff., Lebrun 1980: 330, 336; Sürenhagen 1981: 108f.; García Trabazo 2002: 356f. with n. 7; Singer 2002a: 102. See also Wilhelm 2002a: 69; Archi 2006: 148.

478 Corti 2007: 120.

479 This is also in accordance with Wyatt's interpretation (2007: 43ff.) of the Ugaritan Baal cycle and his general statement (p. 45) that the *Chaoskampf* "had an intimate relationship with rituals of kingship, new kings receiving from the gods a charter guaranteeing divine sanction in their military campaigns, so that all warfare was seen as the ongoing conflict between cosmos and chaos."

muwattalli 'Mighty'[480] and the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* 'of Lightning,'[481] conceived by Muršili II and Muwattalli II respectively to become their personal gods (cf. 3.2.3). The Luwian epithets that the Hurrian Storm-god was endowed with on this occasion come as no surprise, for in the Luwian milieu, which dominated in Hittite Anatolia at the time, he bore the Luwian name Tarḫunt; the Hittites called him traditionally Tarḫuna/i.[482] The Hurrian Storm-god had a significant influence on his Luwian counterpart, but he also came to stand at the head of many local pantheons in southern Anatolia as a result of a progressing Hurrianization of Luwian beliefs (3.2.4 & 5).

The Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean pantheon of gods worshiped by the royal family as part of the dynastic cult also illustrates the beliefs of the Anatolian Hurrians and their kith and kin from northern Syria (3.2.5). The reliefs from the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya, less than a kilometer from Ḫattuša, constitute a valuable iconographic source.[483] Contrary to what has been written on the subject,[484] Yazılıkaya was not

480 Popko 2001b; cf. also Taracha 2004b: 454; 2005a: 96f.; *contra* Hutter 2003: 221 (a Luwian god).

481 Singer 1996: 185ff., esp. 189; Popko 1998: 121ff.; 2005a: 85; Taracha 2005a: 97; in contrast to Hutter (1995: 79ff.; 2003: 223), who considers the Storm-god of Lightning a Luwian god; cf. also Singer 2003–2005: 560 ("the Luwian Storm-god *piḫaššašši*"); Lebrun 2007: 462 ("une hypostase louvite du dieu de l'orage de première importance").

482 Cf., e.g., the *kaluti*-list in the ritual of the priest Ammiḫatna (CTH 471), at the top of which we have the Storm-god Tarḫuni (^{D}IŠKUR-*ni*) and the 'sacred brother of the Storm-god' (^{D}IŠKUR ŠEŠ *šuppi*), i.e. Tašmišu/Šuwaliyat; see Güterbock 1961a: 4; Wegner 2002: 64f., 297ff.; Strauß 2006: 226f., 239f. Cf. also the evocation ritual for Tarḫun(a), Ḫebat and Šarrumma (CTH 485), Haas – Wilhelm 1974: 211ff.; Haas 1998: 106ff. (nos 53–59). On the other hand, in texts belonging to the cult of Šauška of Šamuḫa (KUB 27.1 i 47ff. with its duplicate KUB 47.64 ii 17ff., Wegner 1995c: 33f., 37 (no. 1), 56f. (no. 2)), all of the Anatolian storm-gods bear the name of Teššub (^{D}U-*ub*) according to their *interpretatio hurritica*.

483 Bittel – Naumann – Otto 1941; Bittel (ed.) 1975; Kohlmeyer 1983: 48ff. with references; Ehringhaus 2005: 14ff. For the processions of gods, see Laroche 1948: 114ff.; 1952a; Otten 1959b; 1967; Laroche 1969a; Bittel 1975; Güterbock 1975a; 1982; Gurney 1977: 19ff.; Masson 1981; Haas 1994a: 633ff.

484 See, among others, Laroche 1952a; 1969a; 1991: 222 ("A century later at Yazılıkaya, the imperial pantheon of Šuppiluliuma I was replaced by the Kizzuwatnean... pantheon of the royal couple Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa."); Gurney 1977: 17 ("In the thirteenth century, when Ḫattusili married the priestess of Kizzuwadna, Puduḫepa, the Hurrian gods of Kummanni virtually took over the State religion."); Haas 1994a: 633; 2002: 108; Lebrun 1995b: 1971 ("the Hurrianized imperial pantheon"); Hawkins 1998: 67 ("The Hittite pantheon... is illustrated on the rocky walls of Yazılıkaya chamber A... it is noteworthy that here we have represented only a fraction of the composite Hittite pantheon."); Bryce 2002: 161 ("the thoroughly Hurrianized Hittite pantheon"); Seeher 2002; Collins 2007: 139f. ("the Hurrian pantheon, which became especially important in the state religion of the mid-thirteenth century"), and 177 ("The divine figures carved into the rock

a sanctuary of the state cult. The walls of chamber A bear a depiction of two divine processions: gods led by Teššub on the western side, goddesses led by Ḫebat on the eastern side. Both the idea of the pantheon being divided into gods and goddesses in ritual practice, and the way this separation is depicted as the two processions meeting in the center, which corresponds to antithetic representations of the main gods of the pantheon on Syrian cylinder seals,[485] has its sources in the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean and Hurrian milieus of southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria.[486] The main scene represents a family group of the supreme deities: Teššub (no. 42) standing on the napes of two mountain-gods,[487] and his consort Ḫebat (no. 43) opposite him, standing on a leopard. They are accompanied by Šeri and Ḫurri, the sacred bulls of Teššub.[488] Ḫebat is followed by her son with Teššub, Šarrumma (no. 44) on a leopard (this is the Ḫebat–Šarrumma pair perceived as a unity in ritual practice, see 3.2.5), and their daughters Allanzu (no. 45) and Kunzišalli (no. 46).

The order of the procession of forty gods following Teššub corresponds to the order of a standard list of gods (so-called *kaluti*) in the cult of the Hurrian Storm-god (3.2.5).

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sanctuary at Yazılıkaya depict this syncretism of the Hittite and Hurrian gods in its official and final form."); Klinger 2007: 82 ("Das Felsrelief... stellt das zentrale Pantheon des hethitischen Staates dar."). Recently Schwemer (2006a: 257ff., esp. 264f.) has come out against interpreting the procession of gods from Yazılıkaya as a representation of the Hittite pantheon from the late Empire period, but he accepts it as testimony of the Hurrianized cult of the Storm-god of Ḫatti, assuming the old identification of Yazılıkaya with the *ḫuwaši*-sanctuary of the Storm-god, its tradition going back to Old Hittite times. In this sense he connects Yazılıkaya with the state cult.

485 Cf., e.g., Teššub and the Sun-god Šimige (cylinder seal in the Fitzwilliam Museum, E.66.1966, Alexander 1975, seal impressions of Piḫaziti, RS 17.248, Schaeffer 1956: 40f., figs 63ff., Amanmašḫu, RS 17.28(76), Schaeffer 1956: 42ff., figs 66ff., and Ḫešmi-Teššub, Msk. 73.57, Beyer 1980: 276f., fig. 14; 1982: 67, fig. 7; Alexander 1993: 9, fig. 4, pl. 4.4), Teššub and the Moon-god Kušuḫ (seal impressions of Ini-Teššub, RS 17.59, Schaeffer 1956: 23ff., figs. 32f.; Alexander 1993: 9, pl. 4.3, and Matkali-Dagan, Msk. 74.327, Beyer 1982: 67, fig. 12; Laroche 1982: 56 (no. 8)), Teššub and Šauška (seal impression of Kabi-Dagan, Msk. 75.12, Beyer 1982: 67, fig. 11; Laroche 1982: 56 (no. 7)).

486 The initial sources of inspiration might be sought in Mesopotamian ritual practice connected, among others, with the New Year festivals, cf. Strauß 2006: 162f. As late as Seleucid times, gods and goddesses were carried separately in the New Year procession in Uruk, see Pongratz-Leisten 1994: 136ff.

487 On the iconography of the Anatolian Teššub on two mountains, inspired by the Old Syrian Storm-god through the agency of the Storm-god of Ḫalab, see Dijkstra 1991; Alexander 1993; Klingbeil 1999: 247ff.; cf. also Hawkins 1992; Popko 1998: 124. Building on the Bronze Age tradition, a new iconographic form of the smiting Storm-god, who is brandishing an axe instead of a mace, was created in the early first millennium BC. See now Bunnens 2004 with references.

488 Otten 1950b: 22ff.; Haas 1972–1975; 1994a: 319f., 471f.; Singer 1996: 183f.; Schwemer 2001: 477ff.

The two gods standing on the mountains are in all probability Tašmišu (no. 41)[489] and Kumarbi (no. 40). Coming behind them are Ea (no. 39), Šauška (no. 38) in the male aspect of a warrior-goddess[490] together with her servants Ninatta (no. 37) and Kulitta (no. 36), Moon-god Kušuḫ (no. 35), Sun-god Šimige of Heaven (no. 34), War-god Aštabi (no. 33), tutelary god Nubadig(?) (no. 32), Pirengir(?) (no. 31), Ḫešue(?) (no. 30), two bull-men standing on a symbol of the Earth and supporting a symbol of Heaven (nos 28/29), Ugur(?) (no. 27), Pišaišapḫi(?) (no. 26), thirteen other divinities who are difficult to identify (nos 25–13), and twelve gods of the netherworld with sickle-shaped swords held against their shoulders (nos 12–1). The order of nineteen goddesses in the procession to the right of the main scene corresponds to the arrangement of the *kaluti*-lists for Ḫebat (3.2.5): Dakidu (no. 46a), Ḫudena (no. 47) and Ḫudellurra (no. 48), Allatu (no. 49), Išḫara(?) (no. 50), Nabarbi (no. 51), Šaluš *bitinḫi* (no. 52), Damkina (no. 53), Nikkal (no. 54), Aya (no. 55), Šauška (no. 55a), ? (no. 56), Šu(w)ala(?) (no. 57), and six other goddesses (nos 58–63).

The iconographic testimony of the Yazılıkaya reliefs is often compared to a ceremony described on the tenth tablet of the Hurrian-Hittite *itkalzi* ritual.[491] During this ritual, *kupti*-objects[492] were driven into the ground for successive divine pairs in the same order as that of the Yazılıkaya processions: Teššub – Ḫebat / Sun-goddess of Arinna, Šuwaliyat (same as Tašmišu) – Nabarbi, Kumarbi – Šaluš *bitinḫi*, Ea (and Šauška) – Damkina, Kušuḫ – Nikkal, Šimige (Sun-goddess of Arinna in the text) – Ayu-Ikalti, gods – goddesses.[493] The said ritual for Tutḫaliya III and his queen Taduḫepa was surely connected with the dynastic cult.

3.2.3. Local pantheons in central and northern Anatolia

Changes in Hittite religion are reflected in local pantheons of the native Hittite land situated in the bend of the Kızılırmak. Hurrian and Luwian gods who appear in the traditional local pantheons were occasionally given Hattian names. For example, the

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489 The surviving traces of hieroglyphs suggest an epithet: DEUS.DOMINUS-x-x; see Güterbock 1975b: 172.

490 Cf. Laroche 1952a: 117; Haas – Wäfler 1974: 213 with n. 10.

491 Laroche 1952a: 118ff. Cf. also Haas – Wäfler 1974: 218f., 225; Güterbock 1975a: 274f.; V. Haas apud Haas – Thiel 1975: 88ff.; Haas 1994a: 638f.; Taracha 2005a: 100; Strauß 2006: 159ff.

492 See now Strauß 2006: 79ff. with references; Murat 2008.

493 KUB 29.8 i 11ff., Haas – Wäfler 1974: 218ff.; Haas 1984: 86f. (no. 9).

Earth–Heaven pair worshiped by the Hurrians (3.2.5) was called by the Hattians in their own tongue Yaḫšul–Ištarazzil 'Heaven–Earth,' and the king's tutelary deity deriving from the Luwian milieu, ^{D}LAMMA.LUGAL / Ḫaššuwaš Innara to be equated with the hieroglyphic CERVUS$_3$(DEUS)-*ti* REX / Kurunti(ya)[494] (see also 3.2.4), was interpreted as the king's Kamamma – Kattelikamamma.

It is reasonable that the pantheon of the capital Ḫattuša incorporated many deities worshiped by the royal family. Next to the supreme triad of Ḫatti – Storm-god,[495] Sun-goddess of Arinna, ^{D}LAMMA – there were Teššub of Ḫalab of Ḫattuša and his consort Ḫebat, the chief pair from the dynastic cult, and other divinities of foreign origin, like the allomorph of Teššub, referred to as the Storm-god of the Camp (^{D}U KARAŠ), Ea and Damkina, hypostases of Šauška of Nineveh and Ḫattarina, and Kubaba, goddess of Karkamiš, which was the capital of Hittite territories in northern Syria from the times of Šuppiluliuma I.[496] Ḫattuša was at this time the home of Hittite gods, as well as deities from the Land of the Cedars (a term concerning equally the Hurrian, Syrian and Mesopotamian gods worshiped in northern Syria). By no means does this suggest that the Anatolian gods from the traditional pantheon attested in Old Hittite documents had stopped being worshiped (3.1.1). Quite the opposite in fact – sources at our disposal reflect a certain renaissance of this cult at the close of the Hittite Empire period (see 3.2.6).

The spread of new cults to the provinces, including centers still cultivating Hattian traditions, was stimulated largely, perhaps even crucially, by the religious policies of Hittite kings. Changes touched even the holy town of Arinna.[497] On the evidence of the Muwattalli II prayer,[498] manifestations of Teššub with Hurrian epithets: the Storm-god of Salvation (*eḫellibi*) and the Storm-god of Life (*šuḫurribi*), appeared in the local pantheon next to the Sun-goddess, Mezzulla, the Ḫulla mountain, Zintuḫi and the Storm-god who represented in this case a minor category of storm-gods

494 Hawkins 2006: 51.

495 In the Muwattalli II prayer (KUB 6.45 i 50) the Storm-god of Ḫatti is mentioned together with the 'Prominent Calf,' perhaps representing Šeri (*contra* Singer 1996: 55: Šarrumma). Thus he occurs in the disguise of Teššub. Cf. also the invocation of Šeri, Herald of Ḫatti, in KUB 6.45 i 33ff.

496 KUB 6.45 i 50ff., Singer 1996: 11, 33, 55; cf. now also Archi 2006: 150.

497 For the cult of Arinna, see Popko, in press.

498 KUB 6.45 i 37ff., Singer 1996: 10, 33.

of the forest.[499] The Storm-god of Life is mentioned on *kaluti*-lists in the cult of Teššub of Ḫalab of Ḫattuša and his consort Ḫebat.[500]

The sanctuary of the Sun-goddess of Arinna in Taḫurpa, not far from Ḫattuša,[501] was important, for it was visited by the queen during the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival (3.2.6). The local Sun-goddess was called by the Hattian epithet Taḫurpištanu 'Sun of Taḫurp(a).'[502] A prominent place in the pantheon of Taḫurpa was occupied by Am(m)amma/Mamma, who is present among the divine witnesses in official treaties, listed there with the most important goddesses of the land (3.2.1). Her worship is attested in many towns of central and northern Anatolia, such as Ḫanḫana and Kašḫa, and also in Zalpa after the reconquest of the northern territories by Ḫattušili III (see below). One is entitled to believe that the Hattian name/epithet Am(m)amma/Mamma refers to a category of goddesses worshiped in the native Hittite region around the capital and in territories lying farther to the north.[503] On the lists of divinities witnessing official treaties, Am(m)amma of Taḫurpa is mentioned, among others, along with goddesses who bore the epithet Kataḫḫa ('Queen') in traditional Hattian pantheons. It could indicate in this case that a similar category of goddesses had been intended (cf. 3.1.2).

The practice of introducing dynastic gods into local pantheons was the rule in cities acting as royal residences. Šapinuwa (modern Ortaköy), a temporary residence of Tutḫaliya III during the political crisis of the early years of his reign, was next to Katapa one of the most important centers in the basin of the Zuliya river (Classical Scylax, modern Çekerek). The local pantheon was headed by Teššub and Ḫebat, chief deities of the dynastic pantheon. The *kaluti*-list of the local Storm-god comprises, among others, the couple's son Šarrumma, the sacred bulls Šeri and Ḫurri, and the mountains Namni/Nanni and Ḫazzi. Teššub of Salvation and Teššub of the Camp start off the list.[504] The latter deity, referred to as the son of the Storm-god of Ḫatti,

499 Cf. KBo 2.34 5'f., Yoshida 1996: 155.

500 Güterbock 1961a: 3, 8ff.; Wegner 2002: 63.

501 Stefano de Martino suggests Yassı Hüyük near Yozgat as a possible location of Hittite Taḫurpa (S. de Martino – F.M. Fales – S. Ponchia, "Archaeological Investigations at Yassı Hüyük (Yozgat): The Site of Yassı Hüyük within the Overall Picture of Hittite Geography," paper read at the 7th International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum, 25–29 August 2008). In my opinion, however, we should rather look for Taḫurpa northeast of Ḫattuša in the direction of Katapa.

502 Laroche 1946–1947: 32; Yoshida 1996: 313f.

503 Haas – Rost 1984: 20f.; Haas 1988b: 97ff.

504 Wegner 2002: 58f.

occupied a prominent position in the pantheon of Ḫattuša (see above), as well as among the divinities of Zitḫara, the importance of which has already been emphasized (3.2.1). The presence of Teššub of the Camp next to Zitḫariya at the head of the Zitḫara pantheon may derive from Zitḫariya's role as the king's tutelary deity in war. A similar role should be assigned to this aspect of Teššub.

Muršili II, who settled in Katapa for the last years of his reign, established there the worship of the hypostasis of Teššub of Ḫalab of Ḫattuša with the epithet *muwattalli* together with his consort Ḫebat.[505] The Storm-god *muwattalli* eclipsed in importance the local deities with the Queen of Katapa in the fore. The Storm-god of (nearby?) Šaḫpina, who remained high-ranking at the time among the gods of Katapa,[506] was most likely another manifestation of Teššub. He was worshiped at Šaḫpina together with Šauška.[507] A certain text mentions the supreme state triad (Sun-goddess, Storm-god, ^{D}LAMMA), and beside it the gods of Katapa: War-god,[508] Sun-goddess of the Earth, and Eagle (^{D}TI$_{8}^{\text{MUŠEN}}$).[509] Thus, Luwian deities are seen to have made their way into the local pantheon.[510]

The Storm-god worshiped at Šamuḫa,[511] the most important center of the Upper Land where Muwattalli II is presumed to have resided in the beginning of his reign before moving the capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša,[512] was another hypostasis

505 Popko 2001b.

506 KUB 6.45 i 46, Singer 1996: 10, 33.

507 KUB 15.1 iii 36'ff., de Roos 2007: 95, 103; cf. Haas 1994a: 501. See also KBo 47.127, 3', 8'.

508 The logogram *ZABABA* may conceal here the Luwian god of war and plague, Iyarri (3.2.4), seeing that the War-god appears repeatedly in KBo 47.76 among the gods from other localities together with the Luwian Šanta (^{D}AMAR.UD) and the Sun-goddess of the Earth (see below).

509 KBo 47.76 rev. 6'f. This text places Katapa northeast of Ḫattuša, in the Zuliya/Çekerek basin, see also below. For earlier suggested locations of Katapa, see now Karasu 2007: 377f.

510 Cf. KUB 11.27 i 6'f. (the cult of Ankuwa): ^{D}U AN^{E} *šuppiš* TI$_{8}^{\text{MUŠEN}}$ [*ŠA* (SA)]G.DU "the Storm-god of Heaven (and) holy eagle [of the per]son (of the king)." According to Archi (2006: 158 n. 46), "the eagle was connected to the Storm-god (Teššub), as it was connected to Zeus in the Greek world." The connection between the gods and holy eagles in the Luwian tradition of Tauriša (see below) and, as we see now, of other centers in the Zuliya basin finds corroboration in KBo 12.89 iii 11'ff.: "[The Great] Sun-god made a feast and [inv]ited the great [gods, he invited] the lesser gods, he invited holy eagles." See Starke 1985: 243; Haas 1994a: 303.

511 For the cult of Šamuḫa, see Lebrun 1976. The location of Šamuḫa in Kayalıpınar was put forward by Müller-Karpe 2000b. See also Wilhelm 2002b; and now Barjamovic 2005: 148ff. The first season of excavations at Kayalıpınar in 2005 confirmed the existence of an important Hittite center with roots going back to the Assyrian Colony period, but provided no evidence for the identification of the site with Šamuḫa. Cf. Müller-Karpe 2006.

512 Taracha 2007a: 757f.

of Teššub with the epithet *piḫaššašši*, whom Muwattalli conceived as his personal god (3.2.2). Teššub/Tarḫunt *piḫaššašši*, worshiped at Šamuḫa with a local form of Ḫebat, later became the chief god of the new capital. This fact was expressed in the Luwian name of the town – Tarḫuntašša '(city) of Tarḫunt.' Muwattalli was not the first ruler presumably to introduce changes in the pantheon of Šamuḫa. The worship of the chief couple of the state cult, that is, the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna / Ḫebat, referred to as Queen of Heaven, and also Teššub and Ḫebat of Ḫalab and Šauška,[513] goes back at least to the reign of Tutḫaliya III, who made Šamuḫa his capital under dramatic circumstances when the Kaškeans burned Ḫattuša. He also introduced cults of other Hurrian deities originating from Kizzuwatna, like the Goddess of the Night, for example, to be identified with the *IŠTAR*/Šauška-type Pirengir, probably our Venus or morning star.[514] Deriving from an ancient religious tradition of Šamuḫa was a goddess of the name Abara, who was listed in state treaties among the most important Hittite goddesses (see 3.2.1).

The cult of the Storm-god (frequently in the Hurrian garb of Teššub) and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, chief deities in the state pantheon, was celebrated in many towns in the native Hittite territory, especially in the centers that figured prominently in the state cult. Exemplifying this is Teššub of Durmitta,[515] whose worship is confirmed by his *kaluti*-list: Storm-god of Durmitta, Šuwaliyat, Kumarbi (^{D}NISABA), Ea, Moon-god, Sun-god of Heaven, Sun-goddess of Arinna, rivers and mountains.[516] Another text mentions offerings to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and Mezzulla of Durmitta, beside offerings to other hypostases of the two goddesses of Šulupašši (where Ḫebat was also worshiped[517]) and Urauna.[518] Standing at the head of the Durmitta pantheon was traditionally Telipinu, mentioned among the divine witnesses of Hittite state treaties (3.2.1).

513 KUB 6.45 i 40ff., Singer 1996: 10, 33.

514 Otten 1959b: 31f.; Ünal 1993; Haas 1994a: 415f.; 1994b: 82; Beckman 1999b; 2002a: 37ff.; Taracha 2003–2005. For the ritual CTH 481, "The Expansion of the Cult of the Deity of the Night," see Kronasser 1963; Collins 1997: 173ff. (English translation); Miller 2004: 272ff.; cf. also Beal 2002a; Strauß 2006: 189f.

515 For a possible location of Durmitta in the region northwest of Sungurlu, with such prominent sites with local palaces as Hüseyindede and Boyalı Höyük, see n. 270.

516 CTH 705, Wegner 2002: 60, 246ff.

517 KUB 57.87 iii 3', Haas 1994a: 385.

518 KUB 11.24 i 1'ff., Haas 1994a: 427.

Central Anatolia was inhabited at this time by Luwian population groups which had gained dominance in some centers, thus prompting changes in local beliefs. Among the gods of Tauriša, a town which also should be located in the Zuliya/Çekerek basin, there are the Luwian Sun-god Tiwad and Kamrušepa appearing as the parents of the local LAMMA god with the Luwian epithet *wašḫazza-* 'sanctified, holy.' The list of gods of Tauriša worshiped during the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival for the LAMMA god (CTH 617) includes also: Spring-goddess Kalimma with the epithet Mother, Ḫašameli, Spring-goddess Ku(wa)nnani(ya) (whose name betrays ties with Luwian circles), Aššiyat, Storm-god of the Forest, Zuliya river, LAMMA god of the river, and Šalawaneš of the Gate.[519] These gods received offerings together with the most important Hittite deities during state cult ceremonies.

A list of gods worshiped in localities situated in the Zuliya/Çekerek basin (unfortunately most of the geographic names have been lost), including also Katapa (see above), confirms the presence of Luwian divinities in local pantheons.[520] This is indirect proof of Luwians being present throughout the region.[521] In this text, the chief triad of the state pantheon – Sun-goddess, Storm-god, ^{D}LAMMA – also heads the local pantheons, suggesting that the document is a record of a centralized effort on the part of the state administration to clarify and reorganize local cults. In many of these pantheons Ḫatepinu/Ḫatepuna, river Zuliya and spring Ku(wa)nnani(ya) held prominent positions, but Luwian deities were worshiped as well: Šanta (^{D}AMAR.UD), Sun-goddess of the Earth and Maliya (see 3.2.4). It is highly likely that in the case of the War-god *ZABABA*, who is frequently listed together with Šanta, the logogram actually conceals the Luwian Iyarri.

At Karaḫna (to be located on the middle run of the Zuliya/Çekerek river[522]), which as a city belonged to the amphictyony of Ziplanda, the LAMMA god (listed with his consort Ala) stood side by side with the local Storm-god, who was the chief deity of the city; on the lists of divine witnesses in state treaties the tutelary LAMMA god

519 Cf. Yoshida 1996: 215.
520 KBo 47.76.
521 On the importance of Hittite centers in the Zuliya/Çekerek basin, see Forlanini 2002: 260f.
522 von Schuler 1965: 47 n. 303; Beckman 1983: 29; cf. also Haas 1994a: 458 n. 80. Alp (1983b) plausibly argues that Karaḫna was located near Tapikka/Maşat Höyük. Forlanini (2002: 259) locates Karaḫna in modern Sulusaray (Classical Karana/Sebastopolis) on the Çekerek. See also Forlanini – Marazzi 1986: Pl. XVI; di Nocera – Forlanini 1992: 301 n. 94. Barjamovic (2005: 149f., 288) quotes an Old Assyrian text 92/k 3 as an argument in favor of this location.

of Karaḫna appears among the most important Hittite gods. One of the gods of Karaḫna was another Storm-god bearing the Luwian epithet *piḫa(i)mi* 'hurling lightning.' The following gods, some of them from nearby Šamuḫa,[523] were worshiped during local festivals: Sun-goddess of Arinna, [..., Sun-goddess of Šamu]ḫa, Ḫebat-Mušuni, [ ], sacred (*wašḫazza*) ^{D}LAMMA, [..., ^{D}LAMMA] of the Throne, ^{D}LAMMA of Karaḫna, ^{D}LAMMA of the Spear, ^{D}LAMMA of the Quiver, [ ], Storm-god of the Camp, Šulinkatte (^{D}U.GUR), *ZABABA*, Pirwa, Aškašepa, [Queen] (^{D}[MUNUS.LUGAL]), Ḫalki, Telipinu, Moon-god, Antaliya, [Im]marni-deities, DINGIR.MAḪ, Gulšeš, Ḫa[šami]li, gods of Ḫašikašnawanta, Ḫašala river, Šauška of the Countryside, Šauška of Tameninga/Tapinika, primeval gods, Abara, Mt. Za, Great Mountain, Mt. Tapala, Storm-god of Ziplanda, Storm-god of the Gate.[524] At A(n)galiya near Karaḫna there was a grove with a *ḫuwaši*-sanctuary, in which the Sun-goddess of the Earth was worshiped among others.[525] Arguing in favor of Karaḫna's importance in the state cult is the fact that new temples for the Storm-god of Heaven and the Sun-goddess of Arinna were erected in the city in the second half of the thirteenth century BC.[526]

Ethnic change in many provincial towns led to both the old and the new gods being worshiped. A certain ritual from the early Empire period contains a list of offerings made to gods worshiped in a town of unknown name. Standing at the head of the pantheon were the Storm-god and Mamma, but the latter part of the list comprises mostly Luwian deities: Sun-god and Kamrušepa, tutelary LAMMA god and Ala, Telipinu, Maliya along with her companion gods, Earth, and the Sun-goddess of the Earth.[527]

At Ankuwa,[528] the cult of Hurrian and Luwian deities was introduced alongside the gods of the traditional pantheon with Kataḫḫa at the head. In the Muwatalli II prayer (CTH 381), Kataḫḫa, Storm-god of the Rain and Šauška of the

523 Cf. Barjamovic 2005: 152: "Šamuḫa has to be located close to Karaḫna on a route from Ḫurrama."
524 KUB 25.32+KUB 27.20 i 24'ff., Dinçol – Darga 1970; McMahon 1991: 58ff.; cf. also del Monte – Tischler 1978: 178; Yoshida 1996: 208.
525 KUB 25.32+KUB 27.20 iii 41'ff., McMahon 1991: 72f.
526 KUB 38.12 ii 14, Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 22.
527 KUB 43.23 rev. 23'ff., Haas 1988d: 136f.
528 See now Crasso 2005; 2006. A herd of 50 oxen and 1000 sheep was driven from Ankuwa for the great festival of Telipinu in Ḫanḫana (KUB 51.1 i 3 with its duplicate KUB 53.2 i 4f., Haas – Jakob-Rost 1984: 40, 44, 47), which argues against the identification of Ankuwa of the Hittite texts with Amkuwa/Alişar Höyük.

Countryside appear as the chief divinities in the local pantheon.[529] In the reign of Tutḫaliya IV, on the last-but-one day of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival celebrated in the temple of Kataḫḫa, offerings were made to different manifestations of Teššub (including Teššub of Heaven of Ankuwa) and of his consort Ḫebat, as well as deities belonging to the *kaluti* of the Hurrian Storm-god: Tašmišu/Šuwaliyat (ᴰURAŠ), Kumarbi (ᴰḪalki), Sun-god, [Moon-god] and gods of Nikkal (ᴰNIN.GAL); also like in Karaḫna, to the deities of Šamuḫa: Abara, Šauška, Šauška of the Countryside.[530] The Sun-goddess of the Earth was also worshiped at Ankuwa.[531]

A list of twelve gods worshiped in the form of *ḫuwaši*-stelae during the great festival of Telipinu in the towns of Ḫanḫana and Kašḫa betrays the mixed nature of the pantheon of Ḫanḫana. As in Durmitta, Telipinu stood at its head, paired here with the goddess Ḫatepinu/Ḫatepuna. Kataḫḫa was prominent in it. Other listed divinities include: [Sun-goddess], Storm-god, Šanhupiya, ᴰLAMMA, [Šulinkatte], Ammamma, [Ḫašgala?], Ḫapayulla, and Šat(u)waneš/Šal(a/i)waneš of the Gate.[532]

An important task taken up by Ḫattušili III after his reconquest of the northern territories and continued by his son Tutḫaliya IV, was to reconstruct local cults that had become forgotten during the more than two hundred years of Kaškean occupation. The situation is illustrated very well by the fate of the two most important centers in the region – Zalpa and the holy city of Nerik.

After the Kaškeans took Nerik (modern Oymaağaç near Vezirköprü?) in the end of the sixteenth century BC, the cult of the local Storm-god was moved to Kaštama, which remained the god's seat until the first years of the reign of Muwattalli II[533] (see 3.1.1). The Nerik gods were also worshiped at this time in Takupša, where the LAMMA god of Ḫatenzuwa and the mountain Ḫaḫarwa/Ḫaḫruwa enjoyed special veneration.[534] It may have been due to the presence of the Nerik gods that Takupša became one of the most important cult centers of the land.

529 KUB 6.45 ii 60, Singer 1996: 18, 38.

530 KUB 11.27 i 4'ff., del Monte – Tischler 1978: 21; Archi 2006: 157f. See also n. 510.

531 KBo 34.203++ iii 11', Haas 1994a: 423; Groddek 1995: 327; Yoshida 1996: 150; Torri 1999: 90; Polvani 2002: 648f.; Wegner 2002: 300ff.; Crasso 2006: 341f.

532 KUB 53.4 i 12'ff. with its duplicates KUB 53.8 obv. 8ff. and Bo 3478(+)KBo 54.125 iv 11'ff., Yoshida 1996: 99; cf. also Haas – Jakob-Rost 1984: 69, 73, 84f., and Haas 1994a: 744 with different restorations. For Šal/twaneš, see Otten – von Soden 1968: 28; Lombardi 1996: 63f.

533 KUB 6.45 i 68ff. with its duplicate KUB 6.46 i 33ff., Singer 1996: 12, 34.

534 KUB 6.45 i 71f. with its duplicate KUB 6.46 i 36f., Singer 1996: 12, 34.

The LAMMA god of Ḫatenzuwa[535] was one of the most illustrious tutelary deities worshiped in the form of a *kurša*, whose cult in central and northern Anatolia was rooted in the Hattian tradition going back to Old Hittite times. The classification of these deities as LAMMA gods in Empire texts was the result of their personification (see 3.2.4); even so, the ancient *kuršas* retained their divinity, becoming at the same time attributes of the personified tutelary deities called to life by court theologians. In the House of the *kurša* on the acropolis Büyükkale in Ḫattuša, *kurša*-bags were hanged in an order suggesting an inherent hierarchy: Zitḫariya, then the LAMMA gods of Ḫatenzuwa, Zapatiškuwa, Tatašuna and Tašḫapuna, as well as the deities Kantipuitti and Kappariyamu.[536] A text dating to the early years of the Empire describes a ceremony to Zitḫariya and the LAMMA god of Ḫatenzuwa, the culmination of which was replacement of the *kuršas* of the two divinities in Ḫattuša; the old *kurša* of Zitḫariya was sent to Tuḫupiya,[537] while that of the LAMMA god of Ḫatenzuwa was taken to Durmitta, where it was worshiped as the LAMMA god of Zapatiškuwa.[538]

Having decided to move to Tarḫuntašša, Muwattalli II handed over power in the native Hittite territory (exempting Ḫattuša[539]) to his brother Ḫattušili, who committed himself at the same time to the task of overcoming the Kaškeans and reconquering the lands at the Kızılırmak estuary. The capital of the Ḫattušili's kingdom was located at Ḫakmiša.[540] In his quest to bring the northern territories back into the fold, Ḫattušili sought the assistance of the Storm-god of Nerik, declaring him his patron deity and introducing his cult in Ḫakmiša. Contrary to the opinion of some scholars, Ḫakmiša served as the seat of the Storm-god of Nerik for a relatively

535 McMahon 1991: 33f.

536 Haas 1994a: 454. For Kantipuitti and Kappariyamu as tutelary deities, see McMahon 1991: 17f.

537 Tuḫpiya of Old Assyrian texts. According to Barjamovic (2005: 311ff.) we should locate the city in the bend of the Kızılırmak, southwest of Ḫattuša.

538 KUB 55.43, Otten 1959c; McMahon 1991: 143ff.; cf. also Haas 1994a: 455.

539 Singer 2001.

540 Most often identified with modern Amasya. See, however, Forlanini 2007a: 267 n. 23, who locates Ḫakmiš(a) west of Amasya in Suluova. Metin Alparslan ("Das Land Ḫakmis: Geschichte, Lokalisation und Bedeutung eines hethitischen Zentrums," paper read at the 7th International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum, 25–29 August 2008) puts forward an alternative: the valley west of Amasya, with Doğantepe and Oluz Höyük as the most prominent sites, or the region of Merzifon.

short time, that is, until Nerik was reconquered still in the lifetime of Muwattalli II. The latter ruler initiated the reconstruction of cults in Nerik,[541] a task continued by his successors Ḫattušili III and Tutḫaliya IV.[542] While the Nerik temples were being rebuilt, the gods of the city found shelter in nearby Utruna, where Ḫattušili III celebrated the *purulli(ya)* festival for them (see 3.2.6).[543]

The Storm-god ultimately returned to his traditional seat in Nerik, but his cult had changed during the two hundred years in exile.[544] With him came the divinities of Kaštama, a city where he had found respite in the meantime. In the temple of the Storm-god his image stood on one pedestal with that of Za(š)ḫapuna, chief goddess of Kaštama,[545] which does not necessarily mean that the two were treated as a divine pair. The beloved of the Storm-god of Nerik was Tešimi,[546] while Za(š)ḫapuna's consort was the Mountain-god Zaliyanu[547] (see also 3.1.1). Standing opposite the Storm-god was a figure of the goddess Ḫalki made to order of Muwattalli II.[548]

Ḫalki also had her own old sanctuary. New temples were erected for the Storm-god of Zaḫalukka, War-god Wurunkatte(?) (his name is concealed under the logogram *ZABABA*), Storm-god of Heaven (whose temple was rebuilt in the reign of Tutḫaliya IV), and LAMMA god who shared his sanctuary with Telipinu.[549] Za(š)ḫapuna also had her own temple where offerings were made during the *ḫarpiya* festival to her and a local hypostasis of the Sun-goddess of Arinna with the epithet 'Mother of the Earth,' DINGIR.MAḪ and goddesses from her circle, as well as the Maraššanta/Kızılırmak and other rivers.[550] Ea and Damkina and deities from their circle were

541 KUB 42.100 i 17', iii 22' ([grand]father of His Majesty), 32', iv 13'(?), 38', a document of the time of Tutḫaliya IV, mentions Muwattalli (II) in connection with the new organization of the cult of gods from Nerik at Utruna; see Hazenbos 2003: 16ff.

542 See now Corti 2006.

543 KUB 42.100 iv 15'ff., Hazenbos 2003: 20, 24. See also del Monte 1978; Haas 1994a: 696f.; Popko 1995a: 149.

544 For the local pantheon of Nerik, see Haas 1970: 67ff.; 1994a: 597ff.; 1998–2001b: 230f.

545 KBo 2.4 ii 33ff., Haas 1970: 83, 278ff.; 1994a: 598.

546 Cf. KUB 36.89 rev. 56f., Haas 1970: 140ff. See also Popko 1995a: 147.

547 Haas 1994a: 599.

548 KUB 42.100 iv 38'ff., Hazenbos 2003: 20f., 24.

549 KUB 42.100, Hazenbos 2003: 14ff. Cf. also KUB 27.68 iv 1'ff., Haas 1970: 300ff.

550 KUB 58.39 vi 10'ff., Yoshida 1996: 207; García Trabazo – Groddek 2005: 103; Taracha 2007b: 190. For ceremonies in the temple of Za(š)ḫapuna, see also KBo 54.150 10'ff. with its duplicate 1054/u.

also worshiped at Nerik in the late period.[551] The cult of the mountain Ḫaḫarwa suggests that at least some of the old gods worshiped earlier in Takupša returned to Nerik. The local pantheon now also included divinities from nearby centers, like the Storm-god of Zaḫalukka, and Luwian deities like Ḫuwattašši/Ḫuwadišši for example,[552] testifying indirectly to the migration of Luwian population groups from the south. Innovations were introduced in the cult practice itself, such as burnt-offerings (*ambašši*) to the Storm-god of Nerik during the festival of the month.[553]

In the local tradition the Storm-god of Nerik was the son of the Sun-goddess of the Earth and Šulinkatte, a god belonging to the layer of ancient Hattian beliefs, especially in the north.[554] But in the case of reconquered Nerik, this tradition need not have been much older than the official concepts of the court theologians from the times of Ḫattušili III, according to which the Storm-gods of Nerik and Ziplanda were considered the sons of the Storm-god of Ḫatti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna[555] (see 3.2.1). The Sun-goddess of the Earth, who also passed for the mother of the Storm-god of Ziplanda in the same period (the father in this case was the Storm-god of Heaven), was worshiped initially in the Hurrianized Luwian milieu in Kizzuwatna (3.2.4). Yet, her cult in central Anatolia, attested among others in Ankuwa, Katapa and other cities in the Zuliya/Çekerek basin (see above), may date even to the Old Hittite period.[556]

A certain text describing a cult-related journey of a prince to Zalpa provides information on the deities worshiped in this town in the second half of the thirteenth century BC.[557] One of the local temples belonged to the goddess Ammama. A myth about three goddesses of the same name living in the sea can also be linked with Zalpa. The cult of these goddesses was introduced in one of the local temples

551 KUB 58.39 vi 8']f.

552 KBo 20.28 rev.? 4', 15'. Cf. Yoshida 1996: 70.

553 KBo 2.4 iii 1'ff., Haas 1970: 60, 284f.

554 Cf. Haas 1970: 72ff.

555 Haas 1994a: 445f.

556 An important testimony is the Old Hittite purificatory ritual for the royal couple and the people of the land of Ḫatti (CTH 416), celebrated in Katapa and Ḫattuša and demonstrating ties with the Luwian milieu. It invoked Luwian deities, including the Sun-God and the Sun-goddess of the Earth (see 3.1.4).

557 IBoT 2.9+KUB 52.102, Forlanini 1984: 253f.; Haas 1988b: 99 with references. For the gods of Zalpa, see also Haas 1994a: 608f.; Popko 2004a.

dedicated to a deity (of unknown name) believed to be their father or mother. This myth must have come to Zalpa from the Mediterranean and was incorporated locally as part of the reconstruction of local cults.[558] During the ceremony celebrated by the prince, offerings were made to twelve deities worshiped in the form of *ḫuwaši*-stelae. The names of ten of these gods have been preserved in a fragmentary context: Ḫatepinu, Ḫamanni, Sun-goddess of Ziḫnuwa, Storm-god of Mešturuḫ (Mašturaḫ in another text), Storm-god of Ḫ[ašḫašanta?], Storm-god of the Forest, Šulinkatte, Spring-goddess Kuwannaniya, Zikunui[ ], and Tuḫuwamma.[559] Other texts testify to the existence of a local cult of Ḫalipinu (perhaps only another variant of Ḫatepinu), Storm-god of Ḫašḫašanta, Sun-goddess of the Earth, and 'Lady of the Palace.'[560] As at Nerik, the new Zalpa pantheon had probably little in common with the oldest local tradition, of which practically nothing is known. It included mostly Hattian deities originating from various centers around Zalpa, where one should look for the location of the towns of Ziḫnuwa, Mešturuḫ(a) and Ḫašḫašanta (Ḫašḫašatta or Ḫašḫatatta in other versions[561]). This group, however, includes also divinities of distant origin, like the Spring-goddess Ku(wa)nnani(ya), encountered in the pantheons of Tauriša and many other localities along the Zuliya river (see above),[562] and the Sun-goddess of the Earth who was foreign to the Hattian tradition.

A group of texts testifies to the introduction in the reign of Tutḫaliya IV of the worship of Luwian, Hurrian, Syrian, Assyrian and Babylonian gods in some localities lying in the northern territories.[563] Beside the Storm-gods of Nerik and Kaštama, local pantheons included storm-gods with Luwian epithets (*piḫami* or *piḫaimi*), Storm-god of Aššur,[564] Syrian god Milku, Šauška of Nineveh, and even Ištar

558 Popko 2004a: 249.

559 IBoT 2.9+KUB 52.102 ii 2'ff. Cf. also Yoshida 1996: 275. This list of gods also mentions (in a fragmentary context) the *karimmi* temple of the Storm-god of the Assembly.

560 KUB 58.32 i 5, 11, 13, 21 (Yoshida 1996: 276); KUB 59.30 obv. 3'; KUB 59.31 ii 6', see Popko 2004a: 243.

561 Forlanini 1988: 255.

562 Could this lead to the conclusion that the rebuilding of Zalpa was connected with relocation from the Zuliya/Çekerek basin of population groups among which the Luwian element was, as mentioned already above, considerable?

563 CTH 510: A. KUB 38.6+Bo 6741; B. KUB 38.10+KUB 38.10a; C. KUB 57.106, KUB 57.58; D. KBo 39.48+KBo 39.24; KBo 39.117+KBo 40.42. See now Archi 2006: 152.

564 The introduction of the cult of the Assyrian Storm-god in the northern territories argues further in favor of the idea that the ultimate reorganization of the cults in Nerik and its vicinity was

of Babylon. Another text presents a similar picture of local pantheons in three northern towns of unknown name.[565] There were worshiped in the form of *ḫuwaši*-stelae, among others, Storm-gods of Nerik and Aššur along with divinities from their circles, storm-gods with different epithets (*piḫaimi*, of Thunder, of the Cloud, of Growth, etc.), Iyarri, ^{D}LAMMA, Iyaya, Spring-goddess Kuwannaniya, Sun-goddess of the Earth, and Milku.

3.2.4. Luwian beliefs

The Luwian element inhabiting extensive territories in southern Anatolia, from the western seashores to Kizzuwatna and northern Syria, was differentiated in terms of dialects, as much as cultural and religious traditions. Luwian beliefs are known practically only from texts found in the Hittite capital Ḫattuša. Naturally, this knowledge is limited to centers and territories within the sphere of interest of the Hittite court. The beliefs of the inhabitants of western and southwestern Asia Minor – Arzawa and the land of Lukka – are the least known. It seems, however, that the cults there were free of Hattian or Hurrian influence. In areas located further east, Luwian beliefs were under heavy impact first of the local substrate, as suggested already in the discussion of the Kanesite pantheon (2.1), and later of Hurrian religion (3.2.5), especially in the territories of Kizzuwatna and Tarḫuntašša.

There was no one pantheon shared by all the Luwians, only individual deities worshiped in all of the Luwian territory. The most important of the gods were the Storm-god Tarḫunt, Sun-god Tiwad, Moon-god Arma, tutelary LAMMA god, Šanta, god of war and plague, Iyarri, and the goddesses Kamrušepa and Maliya.

The greatest of the Luwian gods, Tarḫunt, used to stand at the head of local pantheons. The Luwian name Tarḫu(wa)nt, like the Hittite Tarḫuna, preserves the Pan-Anatolian epithet of storm-gods – **tarḫwant-*< ide.**tr̥h'₂w-ent-* 'striking violently, conquering.'[566] It also survived in the Lycian tongue as Trqqas/Trqqiz and in Anatolian onomastics until Hellenistic times.[567] Tarḫunt as rainmaker had many

undertaken by Tutḫaliya IV after his campaign against the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I, cf. Houwink ten Cate 2003: 211f.

565 KUB 12.2, Carter 1962: 74ff.; cf. also Collins 2006.

566 Watkins 1999: 12 with references; cf. also Oettinger 2001: 474; Hutter 2003: 220f.

567 Hutter 2003: 221 with references.

characteristics of a god of vegetation and agriculture; in the Lower Land and in Kizzuwatna he was specifically connected with vineyards, an attribution confirmed by inscriptions from the first millennium BC.[568] The Storm-god of the Vineyard is summoned in Hittite ritual texts, in which Luwian spells and hymns are recalled.[569] Unlike Teššub, whose chariot was drawn by the bulls Šeri and Ḫurri, the Luwian Storm-god used to ride in a horse-drawn cart.[570]

In eastern Luwian territories Teššub eclipsed Tarḫunt in importance (see 3.2.5). Worshiped most often under the Luwian name, he stood with his wife Ḫebat at the head of many local pantheons.[571] The permanence of the Tarḫunt – Ḫebat cult in the former Hittite Lower Land is confirmed by the inscriptions of rulers of Tabal from the second half of the eighth century BC. Like the Storm-gods *muwattalli* and *piḫaššašši* mentioned in earlier chapters (3.2.2 & 3), many hypostases of Teššub most probably received Luwian epithets. Hence, it is beyond us to know whether the Storm-gods *piḫa(i)mi* 'hurling lightning,' *warraḫitaššaš* 'of Help,' *ariyaddalli* 'mountainous,' *dupattanašši* 'punishing,' etc. were manifestations of the Luwian or rather Hurrian Storm-god.

The name of the Sun-god Tiwad also has a good Indo-European etymology[572] (see 3.1.2). He was called 'father' (Luwian *tātali-*)[573] and could have been worshiped locally under different names, for instance, at Lušna he bore a name ending in *-li(ya)*.[574] The Mesopotamian Šamaš had a strong influence on the image of the Luwian Sun-god, this through the Hurrian Šimige (3.2.5). Tiwad was the highest judge, god of oaths (*ḫirutalliš Tiwaz*), whose curse threatened all perjurers. Like Šamaš he was considered a benefactor and 'shepherd' of mankind. In myths he called on the gods to assemble and acted as a messenger for the Storm-god. A group of the Ilaliyant-deities was connected with him.[575]

568 Hawkins 2000: 465ff., X.14 (SULTANHAN), 520, X.44 (BOR).
569 Cf., e.g., KUB 43.23 (Haas 1988d: 134f.) and KUB 35.1.
570 HT 1 ii 34ff. with its duplicate KUB 9.31 ii 62 – iii 6. See Haas 1994b: 83; Collins 1997: 162; Hutter 2003: 222; Bawanypeck 2005: 257.
571 Lacking relevant textual evidence, it cannot be said when exactly the cult of the Storm-god (Teššub) of Ḫalab and Ḫebat penetrated into the Luwian-Hurrian milieu of southeastern Anatolia. Surely it must have taken place long before the imperial Hittite period.
572 Hutter 2003: 224ff.
573 KBo 9.143 iii 10; KUB 35.107 iii 10. Cf. Watkins 1993: 469.
574 Lebrun 1995a: 252; Hutter 2003: 226; cf. also Popko 2007a: 65.
575 Otten 1976 – 1980a; Hutter 1988: 125f.

Unlike Šamaš, but similarly to the Hurrian Šimige, Tiwad had no connection with the netherworld. The Luwians of Kizzuwatna worshiped the chthonic aspect of the Sun as a separate divinity. The Sun of the Earth (*tiyammaššiš Tiwad*) was a goddess, mistress of the netherworld,[576] sharing some traits with the Syrian/Ugaritan Sun-goddess Šapšu, who like Šamaš crossed the netherworld at night.[577] With the Hurrianization of local beliefs, however, there appeared an image of the Sun-goddess of the Earth modeled on the Hurrian Allani (3.2.5). She was supposed to open the gates to the netherworld and, like other chthonic deities, to purify the earth of all evil, impurity and illness. According to a description of the court of the Sun-goddess of the Earth in a prayer addressed to her (CTH 371), her entourage included: a tutelary god, vizier, servants, supervisor of the eunuchs, supervisor of the hairdressers, and the divinities Ḫilašši, Darawa (texts also refer to a group of the Daraweš-goddesses, see 3.2.5) and Paraya.[578] Divine midwives and fate goddesses DINGIR.MAḪ$^{MEŠ/ḪI.A}$ Gulšeš,[579] for whom the model were the Hurrian mother goddesses Ḫudena Ḫudellurra accompanying Allani (3.2.5), were also connected with the Sun-goddess of the Earth. She was summoned together with the Sun-god already in the Old Hittite magical ritual (CTH 416) which demonstrates ties with the Luwian tradition[580] (see 3.1.4). The different spheres of influence of the two solar deities are well reflected by a spell included in a ritual text, in which the Old Woman addresses Tiwad and the Sun-goddess of the Earth on behalf of a patient: "If he is living, Tiwad shall deliver him above; if he is dead, the Sun-goddess of the Earth shall deliver him, the man of curse and perjury."[581]

576 Taracha 2000: 178f.; Hutter 2003: 227.
577 For Šapšu, see Kutter 2008: 21ff. with references.
578 KBo 7.28+ obv. 17'ff., Friedrich 1957; Lebrun 1980: 83ff.; Singer 2002a: 23; cf. also Haas 1994a: 133.
579 Goetze 1938: 55ff.; Carruba 1966: 28ff., 34ff.; Otten – Siegelová 1970; Beckman 1983: 239ff.; Taracha 2000: 186ff.
580 KBo 17.7++ iv? 7'ff., Otten – Souček 1969: 40f. The two solar deities also occur together in other rituals originating from the Luwian tradition, e.g. in the Wattiti ritual, KUB 7.1 ii 20ff., Kronaser 1961: 149, 151.
581 One of the Kuwattalla rituals, KUB 35.45 ii 25ff. (Starke 1985: 153) and KUB 35.48 ii 19'ff. (Starke 1985: 155f.), translated by Hutter 2003: 227; cf. also Kammenhuber 1986: 88f. Examples from substitution rituals of the Sun-god (Tiwad) and celestial deities being contrasted with the Sun-goddess of the Earth and chthonic deities are listed by Kümmel 1967: 82f., 128.

Otherwise than in Hattian beliefs, in which the Moon-god Kašku played a minor role, for the Luwians Arma the Moon was the object of great veneration.[582] In the texts his name is usually concealed under the logograms ^{D}XXX or ^{D}EN.ZU. Arma held a significant position in cults deriving from the Luwian-Hittite tradition, which were celebrated in Ḫattuša, also by the royal family, already in Old Hittite times (3.1.2). Theophoric names are good evidence of the god's popularity in folk religion;[583] they were particularly numerous in the first millennium BC in Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia.[584] The Luwians shared the view about the Moon's ties with the months of pregnancy.[585] The god was summoned in some rituals designed to protect the pregnant woman and assist in childbirth. This aspect brought the Moon closer to chthonic divinities.[586] In Kizzuwatna, the Luwian Arma was dominated by the Hurrian Moon-god Kušuḫ (3.2.5). In art he was patterned on his Hurrian counterpart, being represented as a winged male figure in a pointed cap topped by a crescent. Another dominant cult in eastern Luwian territories was that of the Moon-god from the Syrian city of Ḫarrān (Hurrian Kuzina), about 40 km southeast of Urfa, introduced among others in Tarḫuntašša;[587] its heyday came in the first millennium BC.

The category of tutelary gods, referred to in Hittite texts by the logogram LAMMA borrowed from Mesopotamia, is characteristic of Luwian beliefs.[588] These were earthly divinities, just like all the gods protecting the countryside, household and family. These gods, the Luwian Annari / Annarumenzi and Hittite Innara / Innarawanteš, were assigned the role of guardians of particular deities, the king and queen, parts of the body, senses, mental states, and all categories of objects, as if all aspects of human existence and action needed their own tutelary deity. The list of the LAMMA gods is extensive, especially in texts from the period of intensified Luwian expansion into central and northern Asia Minor in the thirteenth century BC.

582 Laroche 1955b; 1962; Haas – Prechel 1993–1997; Hutter 2003: 227f.
583 Laroche 1966a: nos 131ff.
584 Cf. Lebrun 1987a: 244f.; Popko 1995a: 168.
585 Zeilfelder 1998: 438ff., 443ff.
586 Cf. KUB 35.102 ii 11, iii 1; KUB 44.4+ rev. 1ff., Beckman 1983: 177.
587 KUB 56.13 rev. 23, Haas 1994a: 374.
588 See now Popko 2007a: 66ff.; cf. also Hutter 2003: 229f.

The most important of the Luwian tutelary gods was Kurunta/i(ya), attested as Runti(ya) in sources of the first millennium BC,[589] a deity whose sacred animal was a stag. Theophoric names confirm the survival of his worship (as ʻΡωνδας or ʻΡονδας in Greek sources), especially in Cilicia (Corycus) and Pisidia, until Hellenistic times.[590] A thirteenth century description of a cult image can be linked most probably with Kurunti(ya): "The tutelary deity (^{D}LAMMA): a gold-plated cult image of a standing man with gold-plated eyes. In his right hand he holds a silver lance; in his left hand he holds a shield. He stands on a stag. Beneath him is a silver-plated base."[591] In other representations he was armed with a bow and arrows. The weapons, understandable in the case of a tutelary god, point to the resemblance between the LAMMA gods and divinities of war and hunting.

The latter function was connected in particular with the Tutelary God of the Countryside, ^{D}LAMMA LÍL / *gimraš* ^{D}LAMMA or CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.*463-*ti* (the Stag-god / Kurunti(ya) of the Countryside),[592] who appears (with his consort Ala) in the text of the EMİRGAZİ altars from the times of Tutḫaliya IV,[593] as well as in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the first millennium BC.[594] The hunting aspect of the Stag-god is emphasized in a new EMİRGAZİ fragment and the YALBURT block 10 (§ 4f.) from the times of Tutḫaliya IV: "The Stag-god loves(?), and I (am) Hero, Field-Master(?), Hunter(?), Great King."[595] A distant echo of this thirteenth century topos can be found in the eighth century BOHÇA inscription (§ 4f.), itself apparently

589 According to J.D. Hawkins (*apud* Herbordt 2005: VIII.3.2, excursus 2–3, and Hawkins 2006: 51), the late period loss of initial *ku-* might already be occurring in the Empire period, especially when the divine name was used as an onomastic element.
590 Lebrun 1987a: 248; Popko 1995a: 168.
591 KUB 38.2 ii 24ff., Hoffner 2002: 65 with references.
592 McMahon 1991: 44ff.; Hawkins 2004.
593 Hawkins 1995: 86ff.; 2006: 54ff. Cf. the silver rhyton in the shape of a stag's forequarters from the Norbert Schimmel collection, Muscarella (ed.) 1974: no. 123; Alp 1983a: 93ff.; 1988; Güterbock 1981–1983; Taracha 1996. The cult scene from its neck shows offerings to the Stag-god (DEUS$_x$.CERVUS$_x$) and Ala (*á*-x-DEUS$_x$-FILIA). For the reading of the gold epigraphs on this rhyton, see Hawkins 2006: 52.
594 Hutter 2004b.
595 Hawkins 2006: 58f. A scene of the stag hunt on the bronze bowl of Taprammi from Kınık-Kastamonu (Emre – Çınaroğlu 1993: 684ff. and fig. 23; Czichon 1995; Mora 2007: 516) resembles the hunt scenes in the reliefs from Alacahöyük. A seal impression of the same Taprammi from Nişantepe shows him pouring a libation to the Stag-god of the King, Herbordt 2005: no. 409. For Taprammi, see D'Alfonso 2005: 169f. n. 616.

celebrating a successful hunt: "I am good to Runtiya, here he grants to me the beasts (as?) *samaya* (or: the *samaya* beasts)."[596]

Kurunti(ya)'s importance caused the hieroglyphic sign CERVUS, used to denote his name, to start being used in reference to other gods of the same category, not necessarily of Luwian origin. Karḫuḫa is a good example. Together with Kubaba, he stood at the head of the pantheon of Karkamiš. In the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I his name is concealed under the logogram ᴰLAMMA, while in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the first millennium BC the CERVUS sign appears in the writing of his name.[597] Contrary to opinions voiced in the literature on the subject, the writing does not establish a connection between all LAMMA deities and the stag, although it could have decided in some cases like Karḫuḫa's the borrowing of the iconographic type of representation depicting Kurunti(ya) on a stag. Neither is it possible to prove etymological ties between *lulimmi-*, an epithet of one LAMMA deity, and the Akkadian word for the stag, *LULĪMU*.[598]

In the onomastic material from the second millennium BC the logograms LAMMA or CERVUS refer, as a rule, to two Luwian divine names: Kurunti(ya) (with the phonetic complement *-ya* or *-ti(ya)*) and Annari (Hittite Innara).[599] The logogram LAMMA could also denote other tutelary deities, as indicated by personal names with the LAMMA element and the phonetic complements *-ili*, *-liya* or *-šu-*.

The spread of the cult of Luwian LAMMA gods in central and northern Asia Minor is attested by the high rank of the tutelary LAMMA god / Kurunti(ya) in the Hittite state pantheon (3.2.1) and in many local pantheons, for instance, in Tauriša and Karaḫna (3.2.3). This also played a role in the personification of the ancient tutelary divinities worshiped in the form of a *kurša*-bag, who were included as a result of this process in the LAMMA category (see 3.2.3). It is solely to this group that one can refer frequent statements in the literature about the connections between some LAMMA deities and the Hattian tradition.[600] The worship of the LAMMA god

596 Hawkins 2000: 479; 2006: 60.
597 Popko 1995a: 100, 167; 2007a: 66f.
598 *Contra* Haas 1994a: 450 n. 10; cf. also Hutter 2003: 229.
599 At least by the time of Tutḫaliya IV, the readings Kurunti(ya) and Innara for ᴰLAMMA / (DEUS)CERVUS were interchangeable and no longer regarded as separate deities, see comments of J.D. Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005: nos 409, 497, 621, 622, and Hawkins 2006: 51.
600 See, e.g., McMahon 1991: 5; Hutter 2003: 229; 2004b: 381.

of the *kurša* (*kuršaš* ᴰLAMMA) developed in effect, and it was celebrated in a large part of the land; the god was also frequently summoned in magical practices.[601] Even so, the old *kuršas* retained their divinity and some of them, like Zitḫariya, continued to be worshiped solely in impersonal form.

The name of the god Šanta is attested as an element of theophoric names from the Assyrian Colony period (2.1) through the first millennium BC in Cilicia, Pisidia, Lycaonia and Lydia.[602] In Lycian A, the god's name was Ḫãta.[603] In Hellenistic times he was worshiped on both sides of the Taurus mountains, but the main center of his cult was in Tarsus in Cilicia. The local Greeks called him Sandas/Sandes or Sandon and identified him with Heracles.[604] The latter was also identified with the Phoenician Melqart[605] and Mesopotamian Nergal, the god of the netherworld and plague, hinting at an important aspect of Šanta's nature.[606]

In Hittite texts the name of Šanta is often written with the logogram ᴰAMAR.UD, signifying the Mesopotamian Marduk. Šanta is mentioned sometimes alongside the god of war and plague, Iyarri,[607] who resembles in his nature the similarly named Mesopotamian god Erra. Both Šanta and Iyarri carry bows and arrows and both appear in the company of the demonic Marwainzi-deities, the 'dark ones.' In a Hittite and Luwian ritual against plagues from Kizzuwatna, Šanta is invoked with a group of the Annarumenzi-deities (Hittite Innarawanteš), the 'violent, brutal ones:' "Come, Šanta! Let the Innarawanteš-deities come with you, (they) who are wearing bloodied (clothes), who have bound on (themselves) the sashes(?) of the mountain dwellers, who are girt(?) with daggers, who hold strung bows and arrows."[608] Both Marwainzi and Annarumenzi / Innarawanteš are similar to the seven war-like fellow-demons of Erra.[609] In one of the state treaties of Šuppiluliuma I, Šanta is listed among the divine witnesses right after the war-gods and next to the chthonic Allatu

601 Popko 1975: 67f.; 1978: 112f.; McMahon 1991: 39ff.; cf. also Bawanypeck 2005: 185f.
602 Salvatori 1975; Kammenhuber 1990; Popko 1995a: 93, 169, 184; Hawkins 2000: 488ff., 558f.; Polvani 2002; Hutter 2003: 228f.; Mastrocinque 2007.
603 Melchert 2002.
604 Laroche 1973b; Mastrocinque 2007: 209f.
605 Lebrun 1987a: 247 with n. 21; 1987b: 30ff.
606 Mastrocinque 2007: 210ff.
607 Otten 1976–1980c; Haas 1994a: 368f.; Popko 1995a: 93. Cf. also Hawkins 2000: 489f., who terms Šanta and Iyarri "similar if not identical deities."
608 The Zarpiya ritual, HT 1 obv. 29ff., translated by Collins 1997: 163.
609 Cf. Mastrocinque 2007: 203ff.

(= Lelwani) and the Sun-goddess of the Earth.[610] This confirms the connection between the warrior god and the netherworld. In a hieroglyphic inscription from the first millennium BC, a certain Panuni summons Šanta and the Marwainzi-deities to guard his grave stela.[611] In some local cults, the Spring-goddess Iyaya was Šanta's wife.[612] She also played the main role in the worship of the Great Sea (Mediterranean) and the mysterious *tarmana* sea[613] in a ritual from the thirteenth century BC, in which the other venerated gods included the solar deity, [Teššub] with Tašmišu/Šuwaliyat (^{D}URAŠ) and [ ], LAMMA god and [ ], Sun-goddess of the Earth, War-god, Ḫuriyanzipa, Ḫalki, and holy mountains Arara, Amuna and Tašša.[614] The latter mountain is also known from myths of the Kumarbi cycle, the action of which is set in Syria (3.2.9).

Kamrušepa[615] belonged to the circle of Kanesite deities (2.1); probably also, under the Hattian name/epithet Katahzipuri, she formed with the Storm-god referred to as Ziparwa the chief pair in the Palaic pantheon (3.1.2). Paired with the Sun-god she appears in the pantheon of Tauriša as parent of the local LAMMA god (3.2.3). The myths about the disappearance of Telipinu, in which the Sun-god and Kamrušepa have an active role (3.2.9), are likely to have been created under the influence of this center,[616] or in a more general sense, in the Luwianized environment of the Zuliya/Çekerek basin (see 3.2.3). Tiwad and Kamrušepa are summoned in magical rituals, too; one such ritual includes a mythologem according to which they are seen combing sheep together.[617] According to another myth, Kamrušepa used to ride in a horse-drawn chariot like the Sun-god.[618] Very little is known of the cult of this goddess. Certain texts suggest her connection with the domestic hearth, and the 'spell of the fire' recited during one of the magical rites connects Kamrušepa

610 The Ḫuqqana Treaty, CTH 42 (KBo 5.3+ i 53: ^{D}AMAR.UD); cf. Taracha 2005a: 102. Beckman (1996: 25) and Yoshida (1996: 17) read Marduk.
611 KULULU 2, § 6, Hawkins 2000: 488.
612 Haas 1994a: 502; Lebrun 1995a: 253f.; Mastrocinque 2007: 202.
613 Haas (1994a: 467) suggests the identification of the *tarmana* sea with the Bay of İskenderun.
614 CTH 722; see Popko 1987. Cf. also Yoshida 1996: 228f., 270; García Trabazo – Groddek 2005: 47ff., 163ff. with references.
615 Frantz-Szabó 1976–1980; Haas 1994a: 438ff.; 1994b: 77f.; Hutter 2003: 230f.
616 Popko 2007a: 65.
617 Archi 1993a.
618 KUB 7.1+KBo 3.8 iii 16ff., Kronasser 1961: 157f.; cf. also Haas 1994b: 77; Oettinger 2004: 349f.

with fire and smoke,[619] although it is difficult to ascertain in this case to what extent it was due to a folk etymology, according to which the name Kamrušepa ('genius of **kamru-*') was supposed to have been derived from the Hittite *kammara-* 'smoke.'[620] Kamrušepa was a goddess of magic, a divine midwife caring for women and children during childbirth, as well as a practitioner, specialist in purificatory magic, who was the divine counterpart of the Anatolian Old Woman; in this sense she was a patron of the household and family. Unlike the other deities connected with magic, however, Kamrušepa resided in Heaven. In myths and magical rituals she is frequently accompanied by Kanesite gods, among others, Pirwa and Maliya.

Maliya[621] was worshiped in the domestic cult celebrated in the royal palace at Ḫattuša already in Old Hittite times (3.1.2). Under the Empire she received offerings during ceremonies celebrated for divinities of the traditional Hittite pantheon in the *ḫešta*-house[622] and at the end of this period in the cult of the Storm-god of the Great House (É^{TIM} GAL), where she was worshiped together with other Kanesite deities: Pirwa, Aškašepa and the Queen (3.2.6). Maliya is summoned often together with a group of associated divinities; in the Hurrianized environment of Kizzuwatna she was accompanied by the Hurrian Kuzzina-Kuzpazena.[623] One of the inventory texts describes a cult statuette of the river Maliya made of iron and representing her in female guise.[624] Maliya engendered particular respect among the Luwians of southern Asia Minor. At Kummani, main town of Kizzuwatna, the pantheon of which was dominated by Hurrian deities (see 3.2.5), she had her own temple. She continued to be worshiped in the first millennium BC. In bilingual texts from Lycia of the fourth century BC, her Greek counterpart is Athena Polias who appears as a tutelary goddess of many towns.[625] Another important aspect of the nature of Maliya comes through in a ritual from the early Empire period, during which Tarḫunt was summoned to ensure the growth of a royal vineyard, then offerings were made to the Sun-god, Kamrušepa, Telipinu and Maliya of the Garden, called 'mother of

619 KUB 17.8 iv, Kellerman 1987b; Hoffner 1998: 32.
620 Cf. the writing of the goddess's name as ^{D}*Kam-ma-ru-še-pa* (e.g., KBo 9.127+ i 12; KUB 17.10 ii 35; KUB 43.63, 15), Goetze 1953: 266.
621 Lebrun 1982; Frantz-Szabó 1987–1990; Haas 1994b: 78f.; Hutter 2003: 231f.
622 IBoT 3.1 rev. 71'ff., Haas – Wäfler 1976: 88ff.; Yoshida 1996: 124.
623 Haas 1994a: 468, 850, 856.
624 KUB 38.33 obv. 5.
625 Laroche 1980: 4f.; Lebrun 1987a: 242; Popko 1995a: 173.

wine and grain.'[626] The Maliyanni or small Maliya goddesses, invoked in a ritual ensuring the fertility of a vineyard, can be assumed to be hypostases of this goddess.[627]

Such multiplied divine hypostases of lower rank, called upon most often in folk beliefs, are typical of cult practices in southern Asia Minor and northern Syria and concern Luwian, Hurrian and Syrian gods alike. They often take on demonic properties. The texts mention similar allomorphs of Šarrumma – Šarrum(m)anni,[628] Alanzu – Alanzunni, and of the maidservants of Šauška, Ninatta and Kulitta (3.2.5) – Ninattanni and (in Assyrian sources) Kulittanni.[629] Groups were formed also by multiplication or doubling (tripling) of a god. Their cult spread in central and northern Asia Minor with the coming of the Luwian element and changes in Hittite religion during the Empire period. Suffice it to recall Ilaliyanteš (Palaic Ilaliyantikeš) and Ilali(ya), Annarumenzi / Innarawanteš and Annari / Innara, Darawanzi / Daraweš and Darawa (see also 3.2.5), the pair of demonic Ḫantašepa deities mentioned in the Old Hittite magical ritual (CTH 416) demonstrating ties with the Luwian environment (3.1.4), and three Ammamma goddesses residing in the sea, connected with Zalpa, but originating probably from the coastal area of the Mediterranean[630] (3.2.3).

Other deities were also worshiped in particular lands of the extensive Luwian territory. In Arzawa there was Tarḫunt at the head of the pantheon, but a major role was also played by the goddess of vegetation and wild animals, Uliliyašši, the western Luwian counterpart of the Hurrian Šauška of the Countryside (^{D}*IŠTAR* LÍL),[631] summoned in a Paškuwatti ritual.[632] The ritual texts from Ištanuwa, which should be located somewhere on the western outskirts of the Lower Land, are evidence for an autonomy of indigenous cults and beliefs.[633] The local pantheon comprised, beside the Storm-god Tarḫunt and the Sun-god Tiwad, the 'Great LAMMA god,' Iyarri, Telipinu, divinities from the Kanesite sphere – Pirwa, Aškašepa and

626 KUB 43.23 rev. 51, Haas 1988d: 137.
627 Haas 1988d: 138ff.
628 Schwemer 2001: 486f. Cf. KUB 15.1 ii 28f.: "O two Šarrummanni-s and one Alanzunni, you who from the womb of the god (= Šarrumma) are sprung," de Roos 2007: 92, 100.
629 Haas 1981b; 1994a: 313, 470.
630 The goddesses Ammamma of Zalpa may be compared with the southern Anatolian Mamma / Mammaimi. Cf. Popko 2004a: 251 n. 18.
631 Cf. Wegner 1981: 31.
632 CTH 406, Hoffner 1987b.
633 Starke 1985: 294ff.; Hutter 2003: 239ff.

Maliya, Grain-goddess Halki, and numerous locally worshiped deities: Kinaliya, Gurnuwala, Šaḫiriya river, Tarwalliya,[634] Winiyanta, a deity connected with wine,[635] Šuwašuna, Wandu, Šiuri, Iyašalla(šši), Wištašši, fertility deity Imarši, Ayanti, Walwaliya,[636] and Ḫaldatašši. The only trace of Hurrian beliefs is the mention of the 'Hurrian Inar,' surely as one of the tutelary deities.[637]

The main center of the cult of Ḫuwaššanna (whose name is also written with the logogram ^{D}GAZ.BA.A.A), one of the great goddesses of the Hittite state pantheon, was Ḫubešna (modern Ereğli).[638] The most important gods there included: the Sun-god, Tarḫunt, tutelary LAMMA god, War-god (Iyarri?), and Mountain-god Šarlaimi, possibly identical with ^{D}LAMMA Šarlaimi mentioned in other texts. Minor deities listed in the circle of Ḫuwaššanna are: Tunapi,[639] Lallariya, Mt. Šarpa (Arisama Dağ near Emirgazi), Awatta, Kupilla, Muli, Imralli *ḫardupi*, Liliya, and a group of primeval deities (*ḫantezziuš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}) comprising Anna, the Sea, Zarnizza, and Šarmam(m)a river.[640] In nearby Tuwanuwa (Classical Tyana, modern Kilisse Hisar c. 5 km south of Ereğli) the chief divine pair was made up of Tarḫunt (^{D}U ^{URU}Tuwanuwa) and Šaḫḫaššara.[641] At Dunna (Classical Tynna, now Porsuk Hüyük), a local goddess bore the name of Ḫallara (see 3.2.1); the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* was also venerated there.[642] The cult of Ḫuwaššanna was celebrated also in Kuliwišna,[643] where the chief gods of the local pantheon included the Storm-gods of Ḫiššašḫapa and Kuliwišna.[644] The latter received offerings together with a goddess whose name is written with ^{D}*IŠTAR-li* (Anzili?), and the tutelary LAMMA god.[645] This is evidence of a considerable differentiation of the local pantheons.

634 Hutter (2003: 241) interprets Tarwalliya as 'Dancing Deity.'
635 Starke 1990: 381 with n. 1378; Melchert 1993: 269.
636 Maybe a genius of sowing or growing, Starke 1990: 483; Melchert 1993: 262.
637 KUB 35.135 iv 15.
638 Güterbock 1962; Frantz-Szabó 1972–75; Lombardi 1999; Trémouille 2002a; Groddek 2002a; Hutter 2003: 232, 243ff.; Groddek 2004e.
639 Hutter 2004a.
640 Cf. Yoshida 1996: 244ff. On the group of deities Anna, Sea, Zarnizza and Šarmama, see Archi 2002a: 49f.
641 KUB 6.45 ii 18, Singer 1996: 15, 36.
642 Lebrun 2007 with references.
643 Trémouille 2002a.
644 KUB 6.45 ii 3, Singer 1996: 13, 35.
645 KBo 15.33+KBo 15.35 i 8'ff., Glocker 1997: 60f.

Hurrian beliefs imparted a stronger influence the farther east and northeast that we look. At Ḫurma, beside the Storm-god[646] and great goddess Ḫantitaššu, both of whom are named on the lists of divine witnesses and were included in the state cult at Ḫattuša, the prominent deities of the pantheon were Teššub and Ḫebat of Ḫalab of Ḫurma.[647] At Uda, a local manifestation of the Storm-god of Pitteyarig(a) (city in the Upper Land[648]) was especially venerated and with him the Hurrian divinities: Storm-god (Teššub) and Ḫebat – Šarrumma,[649] who were also the most important in the Hurrianized pantheons of Kizzuwatna.

3.2.5. Beliefs of the Hurrians of Anatolia

The Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean pantheon, which reflects the beliefs of the western Hurrians inhabiting southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria, is represented in the form of processions of gods and goddesses on the rock walls of the sanctuary at Yazılıkaya near Ḫattuša (see 3.2.2). It is also known from lists of deities (*kaluti* in Hurrian, with the meaning 'circle, round of offerings') who received offerings in the cult of Teššub and Ḫebat, the chief pair of the Hittite dynastic pantheon. These lists are organized according to the principle of naming the gods (Teššub's circle) and goddesses (Ḫebat's circle) in the order of their importance, from the greatest to minor gods and groups of gods, the 'named and nameless gods.'[650] The lists also include deified furnishings and attributes of the main god.

After Teššub and his various manifestations, the first to receive offerings were: Tašmišu, Anu,[651] Kumarbi, Ea, Moon-god Kušuḫ, Sun-god Šimige, Ḫatni or Šauška from Mt. Pišaiša (*piša(i)šapḫi*), War-god Aštabi, Nubadig (who was included among the tutelary deities in Anatolia), Šauška of Heaven, Pirengir (our Venus or morning star), Ḫešui, Iršap(p)a/i (the Hurrian writing for Rašap, later Rešef), Tenu the vizier of Teššub, Earth and Heaven, mountains and rivers, Šarrumma (in teriomorphic form?)

646 It is not known whether the Storm-god of Ḫurma is identical with the local allomorph of the Storm-god of Ziplanda, mentioned together with his consort Anzili in a text from Kuşaklı/Šariššа, KuT 53; see 3.1.2 with n. 289.
647 KUB 6.45 i 74f., Singer 1996: 13, 34.
648 Wilhelm 2003–2005.
649 KUB 6.45 i 78, Singer 1996: 13, 35.
650 Wegner 1995a.
651 In the *kaluti*-list of Teššub of Šapinuwa, Wegner 2002: 58.

as 'Calf of Teššub,' sacred bulls Šeri and Ḫurri, holy mountains Namni and Ḫazzi, Ugur of Teššub, hero of Teššub (heroes in another text), divine ancestors of Teššub, his weapons and various attributes, all (the remaining) divinities from Teššub's circle, gods of the city and the land of Ḫatti, and furnishings that presumably belonged to Teššub's cella, including a solar disc (*šapši ḫišammi*) of his concubine, whose name is concealed under the logogram ᴰNIN.É.GAL 'Lady of the Palace.'[652]

The *kaluti*-list of Ḫebat includes: her son Šarrumma and daughters Allanzu and Kunzišalli, maidservant Tagidu, mother goddesses Ḫudena Ḫudellurra, Išḫara, Allani, Umbu–Nikkal, Šauška with her maidservants Ninatta and Kulitta, Šauška of Nineveh with Ninatta and Kulitta, Nabarbi, Šuwala, Aya–Ikaldu / Ayu(n)–Ekaldi, Uršui–Iškalli, Šalaš *bitinḫi*, Adamma, Kubaba, Ḫašuntarḫi, divine ancestors of Ḫebat, her different furnishings and attributes, goddesses of the city and the land of Ḫatti, minor divinities, furnishings and cult objects connected with Ḫebat, including Zulḫinida, Tarbanduki and Zumewa, vizier of Ḫebat, Tiabendi, mountains Agulliri and Kallištabi, rivers Šamura and Šidarbu.[653]

Teššub, Šauška, Sun-god Šimige, Moon-god Kušuḫ, Kumarbi and the Earth – Heaven pair were Pan-Hurrian deities who were worshiped in all the lands inhabited by the Hurrians, from the Zagros mountains and territory east of the Tigris river all the way to southeastern Anatolia. The old Hurrian god Lubadag, venerated in the third millennium BC in Urkeš / Tell Mozan, is confirmed in the western tradition as Nubadig.[654] Having arrived in Syria in the beginning of the second millennium BC, the Hurrians incorporated some of the local gods into their religion. Divinities from the Syrian substrate include: Ḫebat, Išḫara, Nabarbi, Šuwala,[655] Šalaš / Šaluš, Adamma, Kubaba and Aštabi(l).[656] Also of local origin, worshiped in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria, were Šarrumma and Lelluri,[657]

652 Laroche 1948: 115f.; 1952: 118; Güterbock 1961a: 3ff.; Wegner 2002: 53f. Cf. also Otten 1959b: 28.
653 Laroche 1948: 121ff.; Wegner 2002: 55f.
654 Wilhelm 1987–1990.
655 For Šuwala, who was worshiped in the city of Mardaman in northern Syria, see Schwemer 2001: 408ff. with references.
656 Haas 1978; Archi 1992; 1998b; cf. also Hutter 1996: 124ff.
657 Haas 1994a: 409f.

a goddess venerated in Kummani, capital of Kizzuwatna, as the spouse of the Mountain-god Manuzi identified with Teššub. Numerous Mesopotamian gods also entered into the Hurrian pantheon, some of them probably already in the third millennium BC, among others, Anu, Ea, Damkina, Aya, Pirengir, and Nikkal, spouse of the Moon-god.

The western Hurrian pantheon was thus a specific amalgam of Hurrian, Mesopotamian and Syrian beliefs. Lluís Feliu rightly commented on the issue of its structure: "If we accept that the basic structure and pattern of the Hurrian pantheon are foreign, we could propose the hypothesis that at least in part, this structure had a Syrian origin. E. Laroche and W.G. Lambert have already proposed a Sumerian structure of the Hurrian pantheon; it is possible, however, that the basic model was the pantheon of the Middle Euphrates, with Dagan as head of the pantheon, father of the gods and father of the Storm-god."[658]

God of the life-giving rains which ensured vegetation, Teššub, was not originally the supreme god of the pantheon. He came to be at its head as the storm-gods gained in importance all over the Ancient Near East in the beginning of the second millennium BC.[659] The main center of his cult was the unidentified town of Kummi(ya).[660] The chariot of the Hurrian Storm-god was drawn by his sacred bulls Šeri(šu) and Ḫurri (Tilla in the eastern tradition);[661] in the west he also had two Syrian mountains, Ḫazzi (Cassius Mons, modern Jebel al-'Aqra?)[662] and Na(m)ni (Anti-Cassius?), attributed to him.[663] His twin brother Tašmišu, whom the Hittites called

658 Feliu 2003: 300.

659 Wilhelm 1989: 49; Haas 1994a: 330; Popko 1995a: 96. Schwemer (2001: 445f.) argues that Teššub headed the Hurrian pantheon already in the third millennium BC. However, the inscription of Tišadal from Urkeš / Tell Mozan from a later phase of the Ur III period (Wilhelm 1998) does not put Teššub in the position of the supreme god of the local pantheon. For a new discussion, see Giorgieri 2005: 83ff.; cf. also 2.1 with n. 146 and 3.1.1 with n. 238.

660 Wilhelm 1994b.

661 CTH 345, Tablet 2, § 39 (B iii 15'ff.), Güterbock 1952: 16; cf. also Haas 1994b: 86; Hoffner 1998: 56f. For Šeri and Ḫurri, see Haas 1972–1975a; 1994a: 471f.; Singer 1996: 183f.; Schwemer 2001: 477ff. For Tilla: Haas 1981a; Schwemer 2001: 483f.

662 For Mt. Cassius, see now Portnoff 2006.

663 Bordreuil 1989; Dijkstra 1991: 133ff.; Popko 1998: 123f.; Wilhelm 1998–2001a. According to Schwemer (2001: 228), the Nanni mountain should be looked for much further out to the east. Yet, this is contradicted by the mention of this mountain in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma in the context of a Syrian campaign of Tutḫaliya III.

Šuwaliyat, was his faithful companion.[664] Tašmišu's spouse Nabarbi was venerated in Taide on the Upper Khabur.[665]

The Hurrians of northern Syria identified Teššub with the Semitic Storm-god Hadda / Addu. In the Hurrianized centers of Syria and Kizzuwatna the local storm-gods were venerated under the name of Teššub. The most important of the Syrian storm-gods was the Storm-god of Ḫalab, whose cult had supra-regional significance already in the third millennium BC, including Ebla and Mari on the mid-Euphrates.[666] The importance of Addu of Ḫalab grew in the Old Babylonian period when Aleppo was the royal residence of the powerful kingdom of Yamḫad. He was at the top of the pantheon of Yamḫad, the king of Yamḫad was the 'beloved of Addu' and the land of Yamḫad itself was called simply the 'Land of Addu.'[667] Hurrian or Hurrianized ruling families from other centers of Syria and southeastern Anatolia referred to the royal ideology of the Yamḫad kings. As a consequence, the Storm-god of Ḫalab, already in elevated position in many local pantheons,[668] appeared in the Hurrian garb of Teššub as the chief god in dynastic cults. It was then that Ḫebat, ancient goddess of Ḫalab, whose cult is attested already in texts from Ebla of the third millennium BC,[669] became Teššub's spouse, while Šauška, his old partner from eastern Hurrian pantheons, appears in the myths as his sister. Teššub, Ḫebat and Šauška formed the chief triad in the beliefs of the western Hurrians. Nonetheless, the change was not universal in all of the Syrian towns. In the Hurrian cults of Ugarit, as in the state pantheon of Mittani, Šauška remained the supreme goddess and Teššub's partner.[670] She also maintained her prominent position in Alalaḫ, even

664 Güterbock 1961a.

665 The cult of Nabarbi ('(She) of Nawar'), referred to in the oldest texts as Lady of Nawar/Nagar, is attested already for the Ur III period, Guichard 1996 with references. Cf. also Haas 1998–2001a.

666 Schwemer 2007b: 162ff.

667 Schwemer 2007b: 163. See also above, 3.1.1 with n. 238.

668 Cf., e.g., the pantheon of Ḫaššuwa, attested in the annals of Ḫattušili I, KBo 10.1 obv. 37ff.: the Storm-god of Armaruk (=? Ammarik, Jebel Semân west of Aleppo, Archi 1998b: 40f.), the Storm-god of Ḫalab, Allatum, Mount Adalur, Liluri, two silver bulls (of the Storm-god?) and 13 statuettes (of other deities) of gold and silver. Ḫebat is also mentioned, referred to as the daughter of Allatum (KBo 10.1 obv.]43f.). See now Devecchi 2005: 46ff.; cf. also de Martino 2003: 54ff. with references; Beckman 2006: 221.

669 Archi 1994: 251f.; Pomponio – Xella 1997: 189ff.; Schwemer 2001: 115f.

670 See, e.g., Haas 1994a: 543; Schwemer 2001: 461. These pantheons were apparently not influenced by the royal ideology of Yamḫad.

though the pantheon there was headed by the Storm-god, Sun and Išḫara (see below).

Once the new dynasty originating from Kizzuwatna took power in Ḫattuša, the cult of Teššub and Ḫebat of Ḫalab, chief pair of the dynastic pantheon (see 3.2.2), spread to the native Hittite territories in Asia Minor.[671] The annals of Ḫattušili I inform that he brought to Hittite temples statues of Hurrian gods plundered in Syria, including a cult image of a local hypostasis of the Storm-god of Ḫalab from the town of Ḫaššu(wa).[672] This is hardly proof, however, of the incorporation of Teššub of Ḫalab and other Hurrian gods into the Old Hittite pantheon.[673]

Šarrumma,[674] originally a great mountain-god venerated in the Syro-Anatolian borderland as a bull (in this guise we see him, for example, on the rock relief from Hanyeri[675]), was included in the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean pantheon as the son of Teššub and Ḫebat. Similarly so in the procession of divinities from Yazılıkaya (3.2.2) and in the *kaluti*-lists of Ḫebat, where he is mentioned most often directly after the goddess.[676] The cult of the diad Ḫebat – Šarrumma had its source in the theological conception of the mother – son pair.[677] Šarrumma is also found in a modified pantheon of Ḫalab,[678] but originally he surely did not belong in it.[679]

Šauška (the 'Great One'[680]) took over many traits of the Sumerian Inanna and Babylonian Ištar, both in her female aspect as goddess of love and in the male one as warrior-goddess. In the latter aspect she was venerated with various kinds of weapons perceived as independent divine beings.[681] Also connected with the male aspect of Šauška was the cult of 'hot stones' that played an important role in

671 Klengel 1965a; Souček – Siegelová 1974; Popko 1998; 2002.
672 See n. 668.
673 Cf. Popko 1995a: 95f. *Contra*, e.g., Klengel 1965a: 90; 1992: 344; Richter 2002: 306ff. with references; see also Schwemer 2001: 494f.; 2007b: 166.
674 Laroche 1963; Haas 1994a: 390ff.; Schwemer 2001: 484ff.; Trémouille 2006.
675 Kohlmeyer 1983: 86ff. with references; Ehringhaus 2005: 76ff.; Stokkel 2005: 174.
676 Cf. CTH 698: KBo 14.142 i 23, ii 12, 25; KUB 27.13 i 5, 15, Klengel 1965a: 91f.; Souček – Siegelová 1974: 39ff.; Haas 1994a: 554f.; Trémouille 1997: 94ff. CTH 704: KBo 22.180 i 20'; KBo 34.16+KBo 33.27+KBo 35.136+ ii 1', iv 27; KBo 35.157 ii 5; KUB 45.74 l.col. 5', Wegner 2002: 55, 105ff.
677 Trémouille 1997: 189f.
678 Haas 1994a: 390, 554.
679 Popko 1995a: 98; 1998: 122 n. 19; Trémouille 1997: 190; Schwemer 2001: 485, 500.
680 Wegner 1995b.
681 Wegner 1981: 95ff.

magic.[682] Nineveh was the oldest and the most famous center of the goddess's cult.[683] Šauška of Nineveh was greatly venerated in Syria and Asia Minor,[684] and she also made her way into the Hittite state pantheon, appearing among the divine witnesses of state treaties (3.2.1). In the western Hurrian pantheon, Šauška was accompanied by her maidservants Ninatta and Kulitta, who were already present in her original entourage in Nineveh. In Anatolia, her manifestations from Šamuḫa,[685] Ḫattarina[686] and Lawazantiya were particularly venerated.

The cult of the Syrian Išḫara / Ušḫara,[687] originally goddess of love and identified in this role with Ištar, spread in Mesopotamia in the third millennium BC; she also had her temple at Kaneš (see 2.1). In this original aspect, Išḫara was worshiped in some Syrian centers still in the second millennium BC,[688] for example, in Ebla, Alalaḫ and Emar / Meskene. At Alalaḫ, Išḫara, called 'Lady of Alalaḫ' in the inscription of Idrimi (line 2),[689] partnered the Storm-god; the logogram *IŠTAR* that denotes here Išḫara's name identifies her as a love goddess.[690] In Emar she was paired with the city god ᴰNIN.URTA, whom Joan Goodnick Westenholz identified with the epithet Il Imari / Ḫamari ('God of Emar'), maybe a manifestation of Dagan / Kumarbi.[691] Išḫara was also greatly venerated in Kizzuwatna, especially in the area around Tarša / Tarsus and Nirиša in Cilicia. There was a temple of the goddess on one of the Cilician mountains bearing her name.[692] Ḫamri-Išḫara of the Hittite texts[693] refers presumably to the tradition of the goddess's cult in Kizzuwatna, where

682 Haas – Thiel 1978: 9, 38f.; Fick 2004: 159.
683 Hurrian spells from Ugarit mention Akkad, Nineveh with [x-A(w)i]rašše and Yablâ-Ališe as the main centers of Šauška / *IŠTAR*'s worship, Dietrich – Mayer 1994; Dietrich 2004: 143.
684 Vieyra 1957; Haas – Thiel 1978: 30ff.; Haas 1979; Wegner 1981: *passim*; 1995c: 149ff.; Haas 1994a: 345ff.; Beckman 1998.
685 Lebrun 1976: 15ff., 42ff.; cf. also Wegner 1995c: 31ff.
686 Wegner 1995c: 111ff.
687 Archi 1993c; Haas 1994a: 393ff.; Prechel 1996; Archi 2002b.
688 According to Hurrian spells from Ugarit, Išḫara was worshiped in Syria in the following main centers: Mari, Tuttul with Emar-Sirašše, Mudkin-Nidabe, Yablâ-Ališe, Naštarbenne-Šidurašše, Tunanab-Šaydar and Ugarit-Zulude, Dietrich – Mayer 1994; Dietrich 2004: 143.
689 Longman 1997: 479.
690 Haas – Wilhelm 1974: 138. For the temple of Išḫara / *IŠTAR* at Alalaḫ, see Na'aman 1980. Cf. also Prechel 1996: 164f.
691 Westenholz 1999: 158. See, however, Feliu (2003: 246f. n. 226) who argues against the pairing of Dagan and Išḫara in Emar and the neighboring region. For Išḫara in Emar, see also Beckman 2002c: 44, 51.
692 KUB 40.2 obv. 12ff., Prechel 1996: 120ff. with references; cf. also Popko 1999c: 100.
693 Prechel 1996: 104f.; van Gessel 1998: 81f.

the sanctuary of Išḫara as goddess of oaths was connected with a *ḫamri*-building.[694] The Kizzuwatnean Išḫara has characteristics of a chthonic goddess.

In the western Hurrian pantheon Išḫara's function changed fundamentally.[695] She found herself among the chthonic deities who were believed to belong to the earlier generation of gods (see below). Išḫara was associated with the goddess Allani and gained many negative characteristics, including a link with the mortal 'disease of Išḫara.' She was also a guardian of oaths and as such appears in Hittite state treaties, most often in the company of the Moon-god.[696] Her connection with the Moon-god Šangar / Šag(g)ar in Ma'NE of the Ebla texts should also be noted,[697] and later in cults from the Khabur region, the middle Euphrates (Emar) and Kizzuwatna.[698]

Allani or 'Lady (of the Netherworld),'[699] who adopted many characteristics from the Mesopotamian Ereškigal, herself influenced the image of the Sun-goddess of the Earth (3.2.4). In the Hurrian-Luwian environment of Kizzuwatna these two goddesses became identified. In Mesopotamia, Allani was venerated as Allatu, but in Asia Minor the two manifestations of the goddess were treated as separate deities. Allatu, equated with the god Lelwani, stood at the head of a group of chthonic deities worshiped in the *ḫešta*-house in Ḫattuša[700] (see 3.1.1).

In a well-known Hurrian-Hittite bilingual text,[701] Allani is called the 'wood of the bolt of the Earth (that is, the netherworld),' for it is there that she had her palace. The Hurrians shared with the inhabitants of Mesopotamia the belief that a man's fate was decided in the netherworld prior to his birth. As queen of the netherworld Allani had her share in this.[702] It also explains her ties with the divine

694 See now Prechel 2008: 127f.
695 Archi 2002b.
696 Prechel 1996: 94ff. See also Laroche 1955b: 11 n. 3; Otten 1961: 155 for the writing of the goddess's name with the logogram *IŠTAR*.
697 Prechel 1996: 10ff., 17; 1999: 375, 377f.
698 Haas 1994a: 373, 568 with n. 191. Cf. also Prechel 1996: 86; Beckman 2002c: 48, 52.
699 Haas 1994a: 405f.; Popko 1995a: 99; Torri 1999: 97ff.
700 Torri (1999: 112) has proposed that the Akkadogram *ALLATUM* is in Hittite texts nothing more than a way of writing the name of Lelwani. Yet, her arguing (p. 53ff.) that Lelwani, like the Mesopotamian Allatu, was a goddess is not persuasive. Texts from the later Empire period, in which Lelwani is given the epithet 'My Lady' (cf. Torri 1999: 45ff.), evidence the transfer of the name of the Hattian god to Allatu. The Hurrian Kumarbi is a case in the opposite direction when a god of foreign origin is given the name of an Anatolian goddess (=Ḫalki / NISABA), cf. Archi 2004b.
701 Neu 1996; cf. also Haas 1994a: 549ff.; Wilhelm 2001.
702 Taracha 2000: 178ff.

midwives Ḫudena Ḫudellurra (or Ḫodena Ḫodellurra),[703] whose cult among the western Hurrians draws upon the tradition of Syrian mother goddesses, protectresses of pregnant women and assistants in childbirth, represented among others by the seven Ugaritan Kôṯarātu.[704] In the Yazılıkaya procession, a pair of goddesses is identified by epigraphs as Ḫudena Ḫudellurra (3.2.2), although the plural form of the Hurrian names suggests that we are dealing here with a group of mother goddesses on the Syrian mode.

In Hittite texts, the Hurrian divine midwives correspond to DINGIR.MAḪ$^{\text{MEŠ/ḪI.A}}$ Gulšeš,[705] the logogram probably concealing a group of the Luwian Darawanzi-goddesses (Daraweš in Hittite).[706] Together with the Sun-goddess of the Earth, the mother and fate goddesses DINGIR.MAḪ$^{\text{MEŠ/ḪI.A}}$ / Daraweš Gulšeš are the main divine actors in magical practices from the Hurrian-Luwian circle, designed to free the patient from the power of the chthonic gods (3.2.9). In other texts from the same cultural sphere, the fate goddesses Gulšeš occur in association with the Mesopotamian mother goddess DINGIR.MAḪ, who played a role in the creation of man, thus bearing out her function as divine midwife.[707] The Hurrians identified her with the activity of the mother goddesses Ḫudellurra.[708] The Hittites worshiped her under the name of Ḫannaḫanna.[709] Yet, in this group of texts it is probably the Luwian goddess Darawa belonging to the entourage of the Sun-goddess of the Earth (3.2.4) who is disguised as DINGIR.MAḪ.

The netherworld was also the seat of gods of the older generation referred to as the 'primeval gods' (*karuilieš šiuneš* in Hittite), 'lower gods' (*enna turena* in Hurrian, *kattereš šiuneš* in Hittite) or 'divine ancestors' (*ammadena enna* in Hurrian,

703 Haas 1972–1975b. On the meaning of Hurrian names Ḫodena Ḫodellurra (from the root *ḫod-* 'raise' which reflects their role as midwives), see Giorgieri 2001: 141 with n. 31.
704 Herrmann 1968: 5f., 39ff.; cf. also Hutter 1996: 136. On the connection between the Ugaritan Kôṯarātu and Mesopotamian mother goddesses Šassūrātu / DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ}, see Stol 1983: 34ff.; del Olmo Lete 1991: 74f.; van der Toorn 1994: 87 with n. 18.
705 Cf. Laroche 1948: 124ff.; Haas 1972–1975b; Beckman 1983: 242; Taracha 2000: 186f. For the equation of Gulšeš with Hurrian Ḫudena, see also Giorgieri 2001: 138.
706 Carruba 1966: 30 n. 48; Taracha 2000: 188f. Cf. also Frantz-Szabó 1993–1997: 518.
707 Taracha, in press.
708 Cf. a lexical list AN = *anu* from Emar: Sum. *Aruru*, NIN.TU, NIN.MAḪ = Hurr. ^{D}*Ḫu-ti-il-lu-ḫu!-ur-ra*, Haas 1988a: 20.
709 Kellerman 1987a; Haas 1994a: 433ff.

lit. 'divine grandfathers').[710] The Hurrians imagined them in the likeness of the Mesopotamian Anunnaku, yet they included in this group, beside the Mesopotamian divinities like Alalu and Amiza(du), Anu and Antu, Enlil and Ninlil or Ea, also numerous deities from the local substrate. The names of some of these deities, in keeping with the rules of word magic, form rhyming pairs: Minki / Munki[711] – Amunki, Antu – Apantu, Aunamm(u)du – Iyandu, Eltara[712] – Ta(i)štara, Nara – Namšara,[713] Muntara – Mutmuntara. Among them there were also the seers Aduntarri and Zulki, and Irpitiga, 'Lord of Judgment.'[714] The Hurrian divinities of the netherworld were included in the Hittite state pantheon and were summoned as witnesses to state treaties (3.2.1).

Ea,[715] who assumed many of the characteristics of the Sumerian Enki, was worshiped in Ebla already in the third millennium BC as Ḫayyu(m) (from the Semitic root *ḥyy/w* 'live'),[716] which gave the Syrian-Hurrian form of the name, Aya / Eya (Luwian Iya), attested in texts of the second millennium BC. Ea played a significant role in the Hittite state cult; his temple stood on the acropolis Büyükkale in Ḫattuša near the temple of DINGIR.MAḪ (3.2.6). Worshiped with him was his spouse Damkina, his vizier Izzummi, Nabû (^{D}AG), Kumarbi,[717] and minor divinities from his circle, all gods whom the Hittites knew through Hurrian mediation.[718] In myths, Ea appears as 'Lord of Wisdom,' whom the gods approach for counsel. In a magical ritual from Ortaköy / Šapinuwa, Ea and Damkina are evoked together with the Luwian divine midwives DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ} Gulšeš and a local manifestation of the mother goddess DINGIR.MAḪ from the town of Šulupašši(ya).[719]

710 Laroche 1974; Gurney 1977: 15 with n. 4; Archi 1990; Haas 1994a: 111ff.; de Martino – Giorgieri 2008: 78 with references. On the relationship between the primeval gods and Allani, see, e.g., Haas 1994a: 551; Catsanicos 1996: 275 with n. 221 (references); Torri 1999: 94ff. Cf. also Taracha 2000: 182f.

711 Wilhelm 1993–1997a.

712 Polvani 2008.

713 Wilhelm 1998–2001b.

714 Cf. Otten 1961: 144 n. 281, 145ff.

715 Archi 1993b.

716 TM 75.G.1825+3131 rev. v 3f.: ^{D}*En-ki* = *'à-u$_9$*. Cf. Archi 1993b: 27 n. 3; Wilhelm 2002a: 62f. n. 27 with references; Tonietti 2003: 668f.

717 As Hurrian equivalency of Dagan-Enlil, cf. Archi 2004b. See also n. 722.

718 Popko – Taracha 1988: 88ff., 101ff., 109; Archi 1993b; 2006: 154, 156.

719 Or 94/136 obv. 1ff.; see Esma Reyhan's paper ("Ortaköy/Šapinuva Arşivinde Tanrıları Çağırma Ritüellerinde Yer Alan Bazı Yeni Kurban Terimleri") read at the 7th International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum, 25–29 August 2008.

The older generation of gods included Kumarbi,[720] whose seat was supposed to be in Urkeš / Tell Mozan.[721] In Mesopotamia he was identified with Enlil, in Syria with the North Semitic fertility god Dagan and the Ugaritan El, whereas the Hittites called him by the name of the Grain-goddess Ḫalki (whose name is written also with the logogram ^{D}NISABA).[722] Kumarbi's spouse was the goddess Šalaš / Šaluš,[723] his vizier called Mukišanu. Kumarbi is the hero of the cycle of myths in which he appears as Teššub's chief opponent in the older gods' struggle to recover power over the world (3.2.9). The sequence of divine generations in Hurrian mythology – Anu, Kumarbi, Teššub – was reflected in the order preserved on some *kaluti*-lists in the cult of Teššub (see above).

The Hurrian Sun-god Šimige was an almost faithful copy of the Mesopotamian Šamaš, great god of Sippar. Aya was the spouse of both, her name in the lists of Hurrian deities being connected with the unclear term I/Ekaldi/u – Aya-Ikaldu / Ayu(n)-Ekaldi. Viziers of the Sun-god were Lipparu(ma) – Bunene and Mešaru known from Babylonian mythology, who ran on either side of the god's chariot pulled by four horses.[724] According to the *interpretatio hethitica*, the Fears and the Terrors ran with them, on the Sun-god's right and left respectively.[725] Šimige was foremost a god of oracles. In myths he appears as one of the most prominent celestial gods. It may be assumed that the Sun-god of Heaven, who became important in the state cult during the Empire period as the Hittite Ištanu (see 3.2.1), was none other than the Hurrian Šimige.

The Moon-god Kušuḫ as god of oaths demonstrates ties with the netherworld.[726] Among the western Hurrians he was also venerated as Umbu / Ib. His spouse

720 Güterbock 1980–1983.

721 Hurrian spells from Ugarit mention his main cult centers in Syria: Uriga and Kumma/i with Tuttul-A(w)irraše, Dietrich – Mayer 1994; Dietrich 2004: 143.

722 On the equivalency of the Old Syrian Dagan and Mesopotamian Enlil and Hurrian Kumarbi, see, e.g., Wilhelm 1989: 52f.; Niehr 1994; Schwemer 2001: 405; Feliu 2003: 296ff.; Archi 2004b. As Feliu (2003: 300) states, "if Kumarbi has any agrarian character it is not due to his identification with Dagan. Fundamental to the comparison between the two gods is the almost identical position each has in his respective pantheon, both retain the title 'Father of the gods,' have the Storm-god as their preeminent son and the same wife. ... it is possible to think that Kumarbi is simply his [Dagan's] 'Hurrian counterpart'."

723 Archi 1995b; 1998b: 41f.; cf. also Schwemer 2001: 403ff.; Feliu 2003: 288ff.

724 KUB 31.127+ i 52ff., Güterbock 1958: 241; cf. also Haas 1994b: 85f.

725 Friedrich 1954–1955; Güterbock 1958: 241.

726 Laroche 1955b; 1962; Otten 1980–1983c; Haas – Prechel 1993–1997; Haas 1994a: 374f.

Nikkal[727] is a Hurrian manifestation of the Sumerian goddess Ningal ('Great Lady'), spouse of the Moon-god Sîn, worshiped in Ebla already in the third millennium BC and also present in the Mari pantheon starting with the Ur III period. Ugarit was also among the most important cult centers of Nikkal.[728] In Asia Minor she received offerings sometimes under the double name Umbu–Nikkal[729] (as in the case of the *kaluti*-list of Ḫebat cited above), which corresponds to Nikkal–Ib in Ugaritan texts. Queens of the early Empire bore names created with the Nikkal element – Nikkalmadi and Ašmunikkal. A description has survived of a ritual for the goddess celebrated by Ašmunikkal and her sons.[730] As mentioned above, the Moon-god and Išḫara as deities of oaths appear on the lists of divine witnesses in Hittite state treaties. In military vows they were summoned together with Šarrumma.[731]

A distinctive trait of Hurrian cults was the veneration of pairs of different gods treated as a unity (Ḫebat–Šarrumma, Ḫebat–Allanzu, Ninatta–Kulitta, Išḫara–Allani, Ḫudena–Ḫudellurra, Umbu–Nikkal, pairs of chthonic gods, etc.), two manifestations of the same deity (the two gods Nubadig, Ugur, Tiabendi and others), or else the god or goddess associated with his / her personified attribute or epithet (Ea–Madi 'Ea–Wisdom,' Ḫebat–Muš(u)ni[732] 'Ḫebat – Order') which symbolized him / her while remaining a separate divine being. This practice, presumably originating from Syria, penetrated also into the Luwian cults (see 3.2.4).

3.2.6. Cult

Forms of cult expressing adoration for a deity are characterized by traditionalism and conservatism. These forms remained basically unchanged from the Old Hittite period (3.1.3), although Hurrian influence is evident. The number of cult objects grew significantly, now including the god's personified attributes, weapons, symbols, epithets, forces of nature, etc., as well as furnishings of the adytum (cf. 3.2). Abstract

727 Imparati 1979a; 1998–2001.
728 Herrmann 1968; del Olmo Lete 1991; cf. also Hutter 1996: 136.
729 Haas 1994a: 375.
730 KUB 45.47+Bo 4186 with its duplicate KBo 17.84. Imparati (1979a: 299ff.; 1979b) identified the Hittite queen with Nikkalmadi, but other scholars tend to attribute this ritual to Ašmunikkal; see, e.g., Singer 2002b: 310 n. 52 (references).
731 KUB 43.38, Oettinger 1976.
732 Lebrun 1976: 102; Wilhelm 1993–1997b.

ideas received a material form and were placed in the sanctuary alongside the god, often on the same altar. Compared to the Old Hittite period, temple interiors presented a much richer appearance, especially the new cult places for Hurrian and Luwian deities.

The gods were worshiped under different forms.[733] There were, as earlier, statuettes a few dozen centimeters high, made of wood covered with sheet gold or silver, sometimes of iron, copper and silver, occasionally even gilded. Their descriptions abound in the texts.[734] Bigger (and even monumental) figures occurred as well, as suggested by the fragment of a copper statue found near Ahurhisar north of Afyon, which was approximately 50 cm when complete,[735] the torso of a limestone statue from Alaca Höyük,[736] and a monumental stela (c. 7.35 m high) from Fasıllar near Beyşehir, featuring a representation in bas-relief of a storm-god resting his foot on a mountain-god flanked by lions.[737] Studies on the iconography of particular deities benefit substantially from representations in the glyptic arts,[738] on pottery[739] and metal vessels,[740] as well as sculpture on rock faces.[741] The latter reliefs are linked mostly to cult practices in rock and spring sanctuaries. The most famous are the processions of divinities from Yazılıkaya (3.2.2), rock reliefs in Gâvurkalesi southwest of Ankara, representing a storm-god next to another god opposite a goddess,[742] a scene showing the Storm-god of Ḫalab in his chariot drawn by bulls together with

733 Güterbock 1983; cf. also Hazenbos 2003: 173ff.; Collins 2005.
734 von Brandenstein 1943; Jakob-Rost 1961; 1963; Carter 1962.
735 İlaslı 1993.
736 Koşay – Akok 1973: 19, 78f. (cat. no. Al.p 149), Pls XL–XLI.
737 Kohlmeyer 1983: 39f.; Taracha 1987: 267 n. 26 (references); Ehringhaus 2005: 57ff.
738 Beran 1967; Boehmer – Güterbock 1987: 52f., 55 (nos 145, 147), 56 (no. 148), 65 (no. 182), 106f. (no. 308); Herbordt 2005: nos 275, 302, 504, 507, 566, 612, 620, 621f., 625f., 630, 710, 755, 770. For the royal seal of Muršili III with a representation of the Storm-god of Ḫalab mounting his eagle chariot drawn by bulls, see Hawkins 2003.
739 Boehmer 1983: 33ff. (nos 43–46), 36ff. (no. 47). More recent excavations in the Upper City of Ḫattuša yielded fragments of a cult vase from the early Empire period, depicting the Storm-god of Ḫalab in the iconographic type known from the seal of Muršili III (n. 738). Cf. Seeher 2007.
740 One should mention foremost a silver vessel in the form of a fist in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with a representation of King Tutḫaliya pouring a libation in front of a storm-god (Güterbock – Kendall 1995) and the frieze on the neck of the stag rhyton from the Norbert Schimmel collection (see n. 593).
741 Kohlmeyer 1983; Ehringhaus 2005.
742 von der Osten 1933; 1937; Kohlmeyer 1983: 43ff. with references; Lumsden 2002; Ehringhaus 2005: 11ff.

Šauška in a rock relief from İmamkulu,[743] and a cult facade with a depiction of a god and goddess by the sacred pond in Eflatun Pınar, 28 km northwest of Fasıllar.[744] One should also note the reliefs on the town walls by the Sphinx Gate in Alacahöyük, showing a cult scene on either side of the gate with a local storm-god in the form of a bull and an enthroned goddess,[745] and also a relief on an architectural block, undoubtedly from a cult scene, discovered in 2005 in Kayalıpınar, representing a goddess seated on a stool, holding a bowl and a bird in her hands.[746]

There was also a huge variety of aniconic images. *Ḫuwaši*-stelae have already been discussed, as have been discs of solar and astral deities (e.g. Pirengir), most often of copper or gold, mountain-gods worshiped in the form of 'weapons,' possibly maces (^{GIŠ}TUKUL), and *kurša*-bags, the worship of which lasted until the end of the Hittite kingdom despite a progressive personification of local tutelary deities (see 3.1.3). One ritual proves that the same deity could be worshiped under different forms: "He will come (and) celebrate the goddess (=Uliliyašši). In addition, if she prefers a pithos-vessel, he will make her stand as a pithos-vessel. But if not, he will make her stand as a *ḫuwaši*-stone. Or he will 'make' (worship) her (as) a statue."[747] Rhyta and other kinds of vessels also appeared as images of deities.[748]

Texts from the Empire period mention numerous temples in the capital and other towns. The everyday life of the temples is illustrated in preserved instructions for temple officials.[749] A rule of prime importance was to preserve cultic purity understood as a state of freedom from magical impact of persons, objects and substances considered impure, and avoiding behavior which threatened contamination.[750] Having fulfilled his duties, the priest could go out to meet with his family, but after that he was required to return to the temple which would be locked up for the night.

743 Wäfler 1975; Kohlmeyer 1983: 80ff.; Hazenbos 2002; Ehringhaus 2005: 70ff.; Stokkel 2005: 174f.
744 Bittel 1976-1980; Kohlmeyer 1983: 34ff.; Börker-Klähn – Meitner – Peckeruhn 1987; Börker-Klähn 1993; Özenir 2001; Bachmann – Özenir 2004; Ehringhaus 2005: 50ff.
745 Mellink 1970; Neve 1994; Ehringhaus 2005: 6ff.; cf. also Haas 1994a: 592.
746 Müller-Karpe 2006: 217ff.
747 KUB 7.5 iv 11ff., Hoffner 1987b: 276, 279; cf. also Popko 1993: 325; García Trabazo 2002: 464f.; Hazenbos 2003: 175; HED 3: 194.
748 E.g., *wakšur*-vessels: KUB 38.1 i 1'f., von Brandenstein 1943: 10f.; Güterbock 1983: 204, 214, and *ḫutuši*-vessels: KUB 38.2 iii 18ff., von Brandenstein 1943: 8f.; Hoffner 2002: 65.
749 CTH 264, Sturtevant 1934; Korošec 1974; McMahon 1997: 217ff.; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 33ff.; in general also Bryce 2002: 154ff.
750 de Martino 2004.

Apart from the priests and priestesses discussed in chapter 3.1.3, the Empire texts yield evidence of other functionaries connected with the cult of particular deities. Among these are the priestesses: *ammama* from Taḫurpa (who possibly had a part to play in the cult of the local goddess of the same name and also participated in the cult ceremonies in Arinna),[751] *ḫuwaššannallali*[752] and *alḫuitra* serving Ḫuwaššanna, *išḫaralli* in the cult of (Ḫamri-)Išḫara,[753] and *katrali* (written also with the Akkadogram *ĒNTU*) in the cult of certain goddesses from Kizzuwatna, for example, Išḫara and the Goddess of the Night.[754] In the texts, all those employed in the temple (the *ḫilammatta*-men, with 'men' standing for both sexes) are opposed to the temple-men (LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM})[755] "who regularly cross the threshold of the gods."[756] This narrower term includes solely cult personnel: SANGA-priest(esse)s, AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, singers and musicians (among others, $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$*ḫali(ya)rieš*,[757] ^{LÚ}NAR / ^{LÚ}*kinirtalla-*,[758] ^{LÚ}GALA / ^{LÚ}*šaḫtaril(i)-*,[759] ^{LÚ}BALAG.DI / ^{LÚ}*arkammiyalla-*[760]), and other groups of temple officials who are on occasion also described as singing, including the $^{\text{MUNUS.MEŠ}}$KI.SIKIL / *zintuḫeš*,[761] $^{\text{MUNUS.MEŠ}}$*ḫazgarai*,[762] and ^{MUNUS}*taptara*.[763] In some texts, the GUDU$_{12}$-priests[764] are also assigned to the temple-men, in others, however, they are among the *ḫilammatta*-men,[765] indicating their lower status among cult functionaries. Auxiliary personnel included guards, doormen, reciters and diviners of both sexes, cooks and bakers, table-men, cupbearers, scribes, waterbearers, potters, smiths, brewers, other craftsmen and shepherds.[766]

751 Cf. Haas – Jakob-Rost 1984: 23; Haas 1994a: 427 with n. 65; Popko 2001a: 331 with n. 19.
752 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 388f.; 2004.
753 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 390.
754 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 391ff.; Haas 1994a: 394f.; Miller 2002; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 177f., 387f.
755 Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 279ff.
756 KUB 13.4 iii 4f.
757 Klinger 1996: 752f. with references.
758 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 336ff.; Klinger 1996: 747; Schuol 2004: 163ff.
759 Yoshida 1999: 242, 245f.; Schuol 2004: 161f.; CHD Š 10ff.
760 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 297f.; Schuol 2004: 158, 160.
761 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 401ff.; Jian 1994; Arıkan 2002; cf. also Rutherford 2004.
762 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 385ff.; Rößle 2004; Torri 2006; now also HW^{2} III/1: 548ff.
763 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 399ff.
764 KUB 13.4 ii 62, iii 3f., Klinger 2002: 101; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 53, 55, 76f.
765 KUB 38.12 i 11, Güterbock 1972: 130f.; del Monte – Tischler 1978: 177ff.; Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 210ff.; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 22ff.
766 See, e.g., KUB 38.12 i 9ff., del Monte – Tischler 1978: 177ff.; Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 210ff.; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 22.

Most of the temples existing in the Old Hittite period on Büyükkale in Ḫattuša (3.1.3) continued in operation, although changes in the official pantheon resulted in Teššub of Ḫalab taking over the old temple of the Anatolian Storm-god,[767] and the goddess Allatu replacing Lelwani as the main deity worshiped in the *ḫešta*-house. The temple of ^{D}LAMMA mentioned in the texts must have been the old temple of Inar; it should not be confused with the House of the *kurša* in the palace residence, which was now the seat of Zitḫariya. New sanctuaries were built for Ea and DINGIR.MAḪ. Furthermore, Šuwaliyat / Tašmišu (^{D}URAŠ), Šulinkatte (^{D}U.GUR), Ḫašammili, Miyatanzipa (^{D}GÌR), Ḫalki, Parka, Kataḫḫa, and mysterious Ḫannu also had their cult places there. The Sun-goddess of Arinna was worshiped not only in her (modest) temple on the acropolis, but also jointly with Mezzula in her *ḫuwaši*-precinct located by some scholars on nearby Kızlarkayası.[768]

Numerous craftsmen and merchants, including many foreigners, lived in the Lower City of Ḫattuša. Each of these groups of professionals had its guild divinities, mostly of foreign origin. Texts testify to a connection between the temple of Zulumma/i (perhaps one of the manifestations of Ea) and merchants,[769] while the craftsmen worshiped Šurra, whose temple was located near the city gate referred to as *ašuša*.[770] This part of the city was also the location of the temples of Ḫanzunzi, Zizzi and Šišummi. Tanners and leatherworkers who worshiped the Maliya divinities lived close by a stream outside the *ašuša*-gate.[771]

The Great Temple, otherwise called Temple I, dedicated to the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, was known as Great House (É^{TIM} GAL) to the Hittites.[772] It was raised in the Lower City in the reign of Tutḫaliya IV. Before that the chief

767 Popko 2002. The Anatolian Storm-god, however, referred to also as Taparwašu (see n. 297), was still worshiped in the same cella with his inseparable companion Wašezzili/Wašez(z)ašu, cf. KBo 2.29 rev. 7'f.; KBo 21.49+KBo 39.87 ii 13'; KBo 39.88 ii 10f., Archi 2007a: 53. Taparwašu and Wašezašu received offerings also at the *ḫuwaši*(-precinct?) of the Storm-god (KUB 30.41 iv 19ff., Laroche 1966b: 170; Yoshida 1996: 321 n. 7), evidenced already in the Old Hittite texts (3.1.3).

768 Pierallini – Popko 1998: 127f.

769 KUB 57.95 iv 5ff., Otten 1959a.

770 KUB 10.1 i 5'ff.; cf. Singer 1983: 63, 123; 1984: 22.

771 Pierallini – Popko 1998: 120ff. Cf. also Pierallini 2000: 325ff. One cannot agree with Pierallini (2000: 332ff.), who would like to locate shrines of Parka, Šišummi, Šurra, Zulumma, Ea, DINGIR.MAḪ and Kataḫḫa in the so-called *Südareal* situated to the southwest of Temple I. The temples of Ea, DINGIR.MAḪ and Kataḫḫa stood certainly on Büyükkale (see above).

772 For the identification of the Great Temple with the É^{TIM} GAL that appears in texts from the latest phase of the Empire period, see n. 268.

pair of the state pantheon does not seem to have been worshiped together in a shared sanctuary. The temple was charged also with supplying other cults in the capital and the provinces. This purpose was served by huge storerooms, temple ateliers and the archive of cuneiform tablets with a scriptorium operating in it.[773]

The construction of the Great Temple crowned Tutḫaliya IV's reorganization of the state cult in the capital and in the land.[774] Offerings were made in this temple to the gods of the main towns – the list of forty centers scattered from the estuary of the Kızılırmak (Zalpa) through the land of Ḫatti and the Lower and Upper Lands to Išuwa (Ḫatra) and the towns on the Upper Euphrates (Ḫaššuwa) in the east, supplemented with the deities of Aleppo and the land of Pala, sets a much broader geographic scope for the Hittite state pantheon than the lists of witness gods in state treaties (3.2.1).[775] The Great Temple was also the place of worship of Hattian deities from the traditional pantheon with the mysterious Tauri(t) (whose cult probably goes back to the beginnings of the city-state of Ḫattuša, 3.1.1), the Kanesite gods (Pirwa, Aškašepa, Ḫaššušara 'Queen,' Maliya), and a group of the household divinities worshiped by the royal family already in Old Hittite times (3.1.2). In the Empire period this group was enlarged to include other Luwian and Hurrian deities: the Storm-god of the Great House, Telipinu, Ḫalki, Miyatanzipa (^{D}GÌR) // Gulšeš DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ} (DINGIR.MAḪ Gulšeš in a parallel text) // Hearth (Kuzanašu / GUNNI), ^{D}U.GUR (= Zilipuri) and ^{D}U.GUR ^{URU}Ḫayaša // Moon (^{D}XXX / ^{D}EN.ZU), Star, Night // Ḫašammili (Ḫašmaiu), Queen (Kataḫḫi / ^{D}MUNUS.LUGAL), Ḫarištašši, Ḫilašši // 'small place' (*tepu peda-*), 'just tongue' (EME-*aš ḫandanza*), ZI.PU *šarrumar* // Propitious Day.[776] The extended list is evidenced already in a text written in early Middle Hittite script from the earliest phase of the Empire period.[777]

Until recently it was thought that all of the more than thirty temples discovered to date in the Upper City of Ḫattuša were erected at the same time as the Great Temple.

773 On the scribes from the 'house of craftsmen' (É GIŠ.KIN.TI) of the Great Temple, see now Shai Gordin's paper ("Remarks on the Scribal Dynasties of the Hittite Empire Period") read at the 7th International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum, 25–29 August 2008.

774 For the cult reorganization in the times of Tutḫaliya IV, see Laroche 1975; Houwink ten Cate 1992: 100ff., 121ff.; Hazenbos 2003: 11ff., 191ff. with references.

775 KBo 4.13+KUB 10.82 i; cf. Haas 1994a: 776ff; now also Forlanini 2007b with references. I do not agree, however, with Forlanini who considers this list a source for a study of the early Hittite history.

776 KBo 4.13+KUB 10.82 vi 17ff. with a parallel text KBo 19.128 vi 18'ff., Otten 1971: 45ff.; Yoshida 1996: 173.

777 KBo 23.72++, cf. Trémouille 2004c: 341.

Yet, some of these cult places must have existed already in Old Hittite times (see 3.1.3).[778] Unfortunately, none of them can be assigned to a particular deity. The last Hittite king, Šuppiluliuma II, built a sanctuary with a sacred pond on the hill called the South Castle (*Südburg*),[779] and he also founded on the stony outcrop of Nişantaş neighboring with Büyükkale some sort of a memorial called ^{NA_4}*ḫekur* SAG.UŠ ('Eternal Peak') for the posthumous cult of his father Tutḫaliya IV (see also 3.2.10).[780] More cult places of this kind with their own personnel, linked to the ancestor cult of the royal family, are evidenced in texts; one such sanctuary dedicated to Muwattalli II was located in the territory of Tarḫuntašša.[781] Some scholars attribute a *ḫekur* function to the rock monument at Gâvurkalesi.[782] A *ḫekur* should not be confused with the ruler's tomb, the Stone House (3.2.10). Tutḫaliya IV was buried most probably in chamber B at Yazılıkaya.[783]

Outside the capital there is a ceremonial complex at Ortaköy / Šapinuwa, dating to an early phase of the Empire period (reign of Tutḫaliya III?). Excavations revealed a pillared hall and open court (Building C) leading to a temple (Building D) with relief orthostats at its entrance.[784] At nearby Ağılönü a huge stone platform was unearthed. This mysterious platform and the adjacent Building 3, where a large number of ritual vessels were found, probably constituted a cult and/or ceremonial complex.[785] From the same period is a temple with a paved courtyard and narrow storerooms found at Maşathöyük / Tapikka.[786]

In a later phase of the Empire period, many of the sanctuaries featuring sacred ponds, which were scattered all over Hittite territory, were given a monumental architectural frame. This was the case of the richly decorated facade in Eflatun Pınar,

778 Müller-Karpe 2003: 389; Seeher 2006a: 136ff., 142; 2006b.

779 Hawkins 1995. Chamber 2 of this complex was interpreted by Hawkins (1990: 314) as a passage to the netherworld, ^{D}KASKAL.KUR 'divine earth-road' (see 3.2.10), maybe the tomb destined for Šuppiluliuma II, cf. Watkins 1995: 288; Archi 2007b: 187.

780 Cf. Güterbock 1967: 81; Imparati 1977: 63; Silvestri 1983; Neve 1992a: 323f.; 1992b: 63; van den Hout 1994a: 49ff.; Popko 1995a: 141; Taracha 2000: 198; van den Hout 2002: 78; Archi 2007a.

781 Bo 86/299 (Bronze Tablet) i 91-ii 3, ii 64ff., Otten 1988: 14f., 42ff.; Houwink ten Cate 1992b: 244ff.; van den Hout 1994a: 50; 2002: 76f. with n. 22, and 89f.

782 Güterbock 1967: 81; Popko 1995a: 141.

783 See, e.g., van den Hout 1994a: 51f.

784 M. Süel 2005; A. Süel – M. Süel 2006; Yıldırım – Gates 2007: 296; M. Süel 2008a: 28ff.

785 M. Süel 2008a: 48ff.; 2008b.

786 Cf. Mellink 1985: 550f.

already mentioned above. Tutḫaliya IV was especially active in this field. At Yalburt near Ilgın, 60 km northeast of Eflatun Pınar,[787] Tutḫaliya's inscription covered three sides of a wall of huge stone blocks built around a sacred pond.[788] A stela fragment naming Tutḫaliya (IV) in Hieroglyphic Luwian was also found in a spring sanctuary at Gölpınar near Alacahöyük.[789] Texts confirm the existence of similar sanctuaries with sacred ponds featuring a rich architectural finishing already in the early Empire period. There is a Middle Hittite text describing sanctuaries by a spring dedicated to the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god.[790] The cult of springs has a tradition reaching back into Old Hittite times (see 3.1.3).

Of the more important cult centers in the provinces a few gained holy status owing to the prominent position of the local deities in the state pantheon and the reputation of their temples. Local priests were exempted from duties for the palace, and the surrounding towns formed by force of royal decrees a kind of amphictyony charged with providing supplies for the festivals celebrated there. The royal administration took care of part of these supplies. Temples also had their own land estates with numerous workers, including war captives, deportees and settlers offered to the god by the king. Arinna, Ziplanda and Nerik were the holy towns of the gods through the history of the Hittite state. It was in the reign of Tutḫaliya IV that Nerik ultimately recovered its due position after the Kaškean occupation. Under the Empire, the city to benefit from such status, beside Ḫattuša, was Kummani in Kizzuwatna, and later also Tarḫuntašša, which was Muwattalli II's capital and then, under Tutḫaliya IV, the capital of an appanage kingdom ruled by Kurunta.

Texts give an idea of the maintenance costs borne by the state and the royal treasury with regard to cult practices.[791] In the reign of Tutḫaliya IV, a total of 775 individuals[792] were employed in the service of 26 gods from Karaḫna, "of whom nine

787 Temizer 1984; 1988: XVff., XXVff.; Ehringhaus 2005: 37ff.

788 Poetto 1993; Hawkins 1995: 66ff. (with Poetto's comments, 1998: 112ff.); Karasu – Poetto – Savaş 2000.

789 Çınaroğlu – Çelik 2006; Yıldırım – Gates 2007: 297.

790 KBo 21.22 rev. 36ff. (study by Kellerman 1978); cf. Haas – Wegner 2001: 122f.; Lebrun 2004: 80.

791 On the economy of cult, supplies for temples and their domestic background, see Klengel 1975; now also Gilan 2007a with references.

792 KUB 38.12 iv 16', Darga 1973; del Monte – Tischler 1978: 177ff.; Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 210ff.; Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 21ff.

with a temple, 17 with a *ḫuwaši*(-sanctuary?)."[793] In the more important centers like Ziplanda, Šamuḫa, Katapa and Tarḫuntašša, not to say Ḫattuša itself, the number of people connected with temple service would have been much bigger – reaching surely a few thousand. Added to this were the supplies required of local palace administrators, the elders of nearby towns and the central administration. Tutḫaliya IV annually supplied the gods of Tarḫuntašša with 200 oxen and 1000 sheep. An equally numerous herd (50 oxen and 1000 sheep) was driven from Ankuwa for the great festival of Telipinu, celebrated every nine years in the towns of Ḫanḫana and Kašḫa, for which a local governor was responsible.[794] In the times of Ḫattušili III, 1000 sheep were given to the Storm-god of Nerik on the occasion of the *purulli(ya)* festival celebrated in the *daḫanga* (cult room?) of his temple.[795] The meat of animal offerings was naturally used to prepare meals for participants in these festivals that lasted a number of days.

Every town had its own calendar of festivals connected with the agricultural cycle and a tradition rooted in Old Hittite times (3.1.3). Among the more important festivals of Hattian origin that lasted into the later period was the *purulli(ya)* festival in the spring "when the land prospers and thrives."[796] Some scholars claim that it was the festival of the New Year,[797] but this finds no confirmation whatsoever in surviving texts. Neither is there any conclusive evidence to prove that the texts connected with the cult of the goddess Tetešḫapi are part of a description of the *purulli(ya)* festival.[798] These festivals appear to have been celebrated independently in Ḫattuša,[799] but also in Ziplanda and Nerik.[800] In the latter town, the local *purulli(ya)* festival started being celebrated again after the reconquest of the northern territories; the importance of these celebrations is emphasized by the fact that their

793 KUB 38.12 iii 22'f. Cf. Hazenbos 2003: 175.
794 KUB 51.1++ i 1ff., Haas – Jakob-Rost 1984: 40, 44; KUB 53.14 iv 35', Haas – Jakob-Rost 1984: 76, 79. Cf. also Haas 1994a: 743.
795 KUB 48.119 obv.? 9'ff., Haas 1994a: 696.
796 Haas 1970: 43ff.; Kellerman 1981; Haas 1988c; 1994a: 696ff.; Popko 1995a: 149; Hoffner 2007: 122, 130f.
797 Haas 1994a: 696ff.; García Trabazo 2002: 77f., 83 with n. 16.
798 *Contra* Pecchioli Daddi 1987a: 366ff.; 1987b: 55ff.; 1988.
799 In Ḫattuša the *purulli(ya)* festival was celebrated for Lelwani in the *ḫešta*-house. Cf. KBo 2.5 iii 38ff., Goetze 1933: 188ff.; Haas – Wegner 1992: 247; Archi 2007a: 51 with n. 2; IBoT 2.17, Haas – Wäfler 1977: 95.
800 Popko 1995a: 149.

description was contained on 32 tablets.[801] During the ceremony, the so-called Illuyanka myth about the struggle between the Storm-god and the Serpent was recited.[802] Two versions of the myth are included in a kind of hymn to Zašḫapuna, main goddess of Kaštama, whose cult was also introduced at Nerik (3.2.3). Surviving versions of the myth come from the Empire period.[803]

With the spread of the cult of Hurrian and Luwian divinities, the number of festivals that were celebrated increased. This concerns especially Ḫattuša. An instruction for temple personnel (CTH 264) lists eighteen of many regular festivals taking place in the capital, the proper organization of which was the priests' duty: "The festival of the month, the festival of the year, the festival of the stag, the f[al]l festival, the [fe]stival of the spring, the thunder festival, the [fe]stival of *ḫiyarra*,[804] the festival of *pudaḫa*,[805] the festival of *ḫišuwa*, the festival of [*ša*]*tlašša*, the festival of the rhyton, the festivals of the sacred SANGA-[priest], the festivals of the 'old men,'[806] the festivals of the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, the festival of *daḫiya*, the festival of the *upati*-men, the festivals of the lot, the festivals of raking, or whatever festival (there is) up in Ḫattuša."[807] Some of these festivals belonged to the old tradition, while the festivals of thunder, *ḫiyarra*, *pudaḫa* and *šatlašša* were celebrated for Teššub of Ḫalab and deities from his circle. The last three were mentioned among thirteen regular festivals in the cult of Teššub and Ḫebat of Ḫalab of Ḫattuša,[808] which in the opinion of some scholars were celebrated in a monthly cycle (with the thirteenth month in a leap year).[809] The festivals of filling storage jars (after the harvest) and opening them (before the sowing) (see 3.1.3), celebrated outside of

801 Cf. KUB 30.42 i 5f.
802 CTH 321, Beckman 1982; Ünal 1994b: 808ff.; G. Beckman apud Beckman – Hoffner 1997: 150f.; Hoffner 1998: 10ff.; García Trabazo 2002: 75ff.; Haas 2006: 97ff.; Hoffner 2007.
803 According to Hoffner (2007: 120f.), the original form of the composition derives from the Old Hittite. The surviving text, however, is rather a compilation of motifs of different date and origin.
804 Trémouille 1997: 98ff.; Hutter 2002.
805 Trémouille 1997: 94ff.
806 For the institutional role of the 'old men' in Hittite Anatolia, see Klengel 1965b.
807 KUB 13.4 i 39ff., Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 43, 72; now also Hutter 2008: 75f.
808 KBo 22.246 iii 21'ff. (with its duplicate KUB 42.103 iv): "13 festivals of the Storm-god of Ḫalab, including the festival of *p*[*ud*]*aḫa*, festival of *ḫiyarra*, festival of *šatlašša*, festival of *na*[ ], festival of fruit, festival of the spring, festival of Mt. Tatta, festival of (the god) Tenu, two festivals of 'setting up figurines'." See Souček – Siegelová 1974: 48f.; Trémouille 1997: 93 n. 319; Schwemer 2001: 497.
809 Haas 1994a: 556 n. 113.

Ḫattuša in the sanctuaries of the Storm-god of Ḫalab in Šalma, Tapatḫina and Pakkurunuwa, show that the worship of the Storm-god of Ḫalab penetrated into local cults and was introduced into local calendars of agrarian festivals connected with the agricultural cycle.[810]

The annual *ḫišuwa* festival ensured the prosperity of the ruler and his family.[811] It cultivated the memory of the roots of the dynasty. According to a new redaction based on original tablets brought from Kizzuwatna and written down for queen Puduḫepa on thirteen new ones, the festival lasted nine days and was addressed to the gods of Kummani: Teššub Manuzi, his consort Lelluri, Išḫara, Allani, the two Nubadig gods from the localities of Pibid(a) (*pibitḫi*) and Zalman(a)/Zalmat (*zalmatḫi*), and the goddess Maliya. The gods of Kummani were worshiped also during ceremonies for Teššub and Ḫebat celebrated as part of the dynastic cult.

Like the *ḫišuwa* festival, the scenario of most, if not all the festivals for Teššub and Ḫebat, as well as other gods of the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean pantheon, celebrated in Ḫattuša and other towns of central and northern Anatolia, may have been modeled on the ritual tradition practiced in Kummani/Kizzuwatna, the home of the Imperial Hittite dynasty. This theory is confirmed by the festival for the Hurrian Storm-god (called here by the Hittite or Luwian name of Tarḫuna or Tarḫunta, ᴰIŠKUR-*aš*), celebrated at Šulupašši and Šapinuwa in the early Empire period (under Tutḫaliya III?). The description of the festival informs that the organization was inspired by an older tablet from Kizzuwatna.[812]

The local spring festivals during which the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM plant,[813] symbol of nature awakening to new life, was deposited in temples of gods are first attested from the very beginning of the Empire period.[814] In the most important centers, these ceremonies were included in the state cult by the presence of the king, queen or crown prince, and afterwards, due to a policy of concentrating cults around the

810 KUB 27.15 iv 22'f., Souček – Siegelová 1974: 44, 50; Haas 1994a: 556; Schwemer 2001: 498.
811 Dinçol 1989; Salvini – Wegner 1984; Wegner – Salvini 1991; Haas 1994a: 848ff. Cf. also Dinçol 1969; 1995; Trémouille 1997: 102ff.; 1998; 1999b; 2000b; Groddek 2001b; 2004c.
812 CTH 479.3, Trémouille 2002b; 2004a.
813 CAD A 112f. ("a bulbous spring vegetable," written SUM.TUR 'little onion'); Beal 2002b: 74 with n. 114 ('garlic?'). Differently, Farber 1991 ('fennel'); and Cornelius 1965 ('crocus/saffron'), followed by Hoffner 1974: 109f., Haas 2003a: 346f., and others.
814 Cf. Taracha 2005b.

capital, this led to the emergence of the great festival of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM plant.[815] It was not until the rule of Šuppiluliuma I[816] that ceremonies formerly celebrated independently for particular gods of Ḫattuša and the nearby towns were incorporated into the program of the great state festival celebrated for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the gods of Ḫatti.

This festival lasted 35 days at first, but was later extended to 38 and even 40 days in the times of Tutḫaliya IV. The king visited sanctuaries of the most important state gods, especially the Sun-goddess of Arinna, situated in nearby localities and attended the temples and sacred enclosures in Ḫattuša itself. He first went to Taḫurpa famous for its sanctuary of the Sun-goddess, then returned to Ḫattuša via Tippuwa. In the days that followed the *kurša*-god Zitḫariya visited Arinna and Tawiniya; his return to the capital initiated celebrations in the temple of Ḫalki, in the house of the intendant for the Storm-god of Ziplanda, and in the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna on Büyükkale. After that the ruler took the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM plant to Arinna. On the way, he performed rituals at holy groves near the towns of Kulilla and Matilla by the stelae of the Sun-goddess, Mezzulla and Storm-god, and in the city itself for the Sun-goddess, Mezzulla, Zintuḫi, Mountain-god Ḫulla and the local Storm-god. After the celebrations in Arinna (ninth day) the king returned to Ḫattuša, where on the eleventh day the 'years' were carried symbolically to the *ḫešta*-house. Celebrations for Ziparwa, the Sun-goddess of the Earth and the Storm-god of Ḫatti (in his extramural *ḫuwaši*-sanctuary) took place in the following days, and then, already in the temples on the acropolis Büyükkale, for Teššub of Ḫalab (a few days of celebrations), Inar (ᴰLAMMA), War-god, Ḫannu, and in the shrine of DINGIR.MAḪ for Kataḫḫi, Šulinkatte (ᴰU.GUR), Ḫašamili and Ea. Rituals were then performed in the gardens for Ea and the LAMMA god of Tauriša, in the temple of Šauška of Ḫattarina and in the garden of Aškašepa. Afterwards the ruler visited again the temples on Büyükkale, this time the sanctuary of Ea and for the second time those of DINGIR.MAḪ and Inar (ᴰLAMMA). The last days of the festival the king spent visiting successively Ḫaitta, cult place of the Tutelary God of the Countryside, the Piškurunuwa mountain with an enclosure for the sacred deer of

815 Güterbock 1960; 1964b: 62ff.; Houwink ten Cate 1986; Zinko 1987; Popko – Taracha 1988; Badalì – Zinko 1989; Haas – Wegner 1992; Yoshida 1992; Haas 1994a: 772ff.; Houwink ten Cate 2003.
816 KUB 19.22 1f. (with its duplicate KBo 14.42), Houwink ten Cate 1966: 27f.; 1986: 109; cf. also Haas 1994a: 772.

the Sun-goddess, the sanctuary of the Sun-goddess of Arinna at Ḫarranašši, the temple of the local Storm-god in Ziplanda and the sacred precinct on the nearby Daḫa mountain, and finally the temples of the gods of Ankuwa.

The other great state festival known as EZEN *nuntarriyašḫaš*, or the Festival of 'Despatch' had a similar program. The king celebrated it in autumn, upon returning from whatever military expedition he was on.[817] In the rule of Tutḫaliya IV it lasted 40 days, like the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. One of the outline tablets gives the beginning of the celebrations as rituals for Tarḫunt / Teššub *muwattalli* in Katapa.[818] This suggests that the calendar of the festival was established under Muršili II, who resided in the town during the last years of his reign. From Katapa the ruler went to the sanctuaries of the Sun-goddess in Taḫurpa (where the queen celebrated the rites herself) and Arinna. On the sixth day he returned to Ḫattuša, making offerings on the way in the holy grove near Kulilla. During this time Zitḫariya visited several localities, including Ḫakkura, where in a sacred grove rituals were performed for the Thousand Gods of Ḫatti and the goddess Tašḫapuna. Upon returning to the capital, the king worshiped all the gods in their temples on Büyükkale. In the next days, either he or the prince in his stead, or else the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess or someone from the palace staff, performed rituals in the temples on the acropolis, the most important ones being those in the shrine of Teššub of Ḫalab. Some of the ceremonies were supplied from the treasuries ('palaces') of the towns of Nenašša, Tuwanuwa and Ḫubešna. On the twelfth day the king went on a four-day circuit to Ḫarranašši, Ziplanda, Katapa (here the king offered to the Storm-god of Nerik) and Taḫurpa, after which he returned to the capital via Nirḫanta and Tippuwa. On the sixteenth day, a ceremony replacing the actual 'road to Nerik' took place in the house of the intendant. For the next days rituals were celebrated in Ḫattuša.

An analysis of the outline tablets and the colophons reveals changes that occurred in the program of the two festivals in later periods. Ḫattušili III included the spring and fall festivals, celebrated traditionally in accordance with the agrarian calendar, in the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM and the EZEN *nuntarriyašḫaš* ceremonies respectively.

817 Houwink ten Cate 1988; Karasu 1988; Haas 1994a: 827ff.; Nakamura 1998; 2001; 2002; cf. also Popko 1986.

818 Outline tablet 1 (KUB 9.16++, KBo 39.63++) i 3ff., Nakamura 2002: 17, 19; cf. Taracha 2006: 244.

Certain scholars have suggested that also the KI.LAM festival (3.1.3) became part of the EZEN *nuntarriyašḫaš*.[819] The biggest change occurred under Tutḫaliya IV. Having revived the cults in the north, he added to the calendar of the two great festivals certain ceremonies for the Storm-god of Nerik, who was already being worshiped in Ḫattuša at this time, as well as, at least in the program of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival (the EZEN *nuntarriyašḫaš* outline tablets are damaged in this place), ceremonies performed for the Storm-god and other gods of the Great House.

3.2.7. Prayer

Through prayer the Hittites pleaded their case in their dealings with the divine world in a difficult situation.[820] The oldest examples of short magical charms and requests for blessing go back to the Old Hittite period, for instance, the following incantation from the purificatory ritual for the royal couple (CTH 416) which reveals ties with the Luwian circles (see 3.1.4): "Mercy, O Sun-god and Storm-god! ... The king holds a pruning-knife, the queen holds a millstone. [They prepare?] for you forever (your) breadloaf and libation-vessel. Just as the Sun-god and the Storm-god, Heaven and Earth [ ] are everlasting, so let the king, the queen and the children be everlasting!"[821] Similar spells are also embedded in later magical texts, as, for instance, the words spoken in a ritual to be performed in an emergency: "O Sun-god, you are looking constantly into men's heart, but nobody is able to look in your heart. Who made a bad action, you, Sun-god, were above (him). I was going through my good way. Whoever hurt me, Sun-god, look at him! [Let myself and my house] grow! Let [people of my house], cattle and sheep beget in a proper way and let my grain grow!"[822] Such magical incantations, which are occasionally found also in Luwian[823]

819 Cf. Nakamura 2002: 80f., 128ff.

820 For Hittite prayers, see, in general, Laroche 1964-1965; Houwink ten Cate 1969; Güterbock 1978a; 1978b: 224ff.; Lebrun 1980; de Roos 1995; Singer 1996; 2002a with further references to earlier literature on p. 1f. and 111ff.; cf. also García Trabazo 2002: 273ff.; Justus 2002; 2004; Singer 2002b; 2004; 2005; Haas 2006: 245ff.; van den Hout 2007b.

821 KBo 17.1+ ii 41'-iii 3, Otten – Souček 1969: 28ff.; Neu 1980: 8f. (no. 3).

822 KUB 17.28 ii 56-iii 3, translated by Torri 2004a: 134.

823 Cf. Starke 1990: 519f. For the lists of good things requested from the gods for the well-being of the king in Hittite and Luwian prayers and solicitations, see Kammenhuber 1985; Hoffner 1987c.

and Hattian,[824] belong to a type defined by Emanuel Laroche as *mugawar* 'invocation, entreaty.'[825] Despite their brevity these are undoubtedly real prayers, with characteristic constituent parts used to encode three pragmatic purposes: attention getting (*invocatio*), predisposing or motivating (*argumentum*), and communicating the speaker's purpose (*preces*).[826] Sometimes the *mugawars*, recited as part of rituals performed by the king or by a priest on his behalf, had more developed forms, as in the case of early Empire invocations of the Sun-goddess of the Earth and the gods of her entourage, of the Sun-god and the Storm-god, and of the Sun-goddess of Arinna.[827] Yet they continue to feature formulas drawn from magical incantations.

The new type of royal prayer of the Empire period is referred to by the Hittite term *arkuwar*, literally a 'pleading, defense,' as in a speech made before a court of law.[828] "Thus in the numerous preserved Hittite royal prayers the king serves as an advocate for his people, explaining or justifying their conduct."[829] This type of prayer is characterized by the same kind of structure as in the case of the above-mentioned invocations and short solicitations in magical rituals, with three constituent parts: *invocatio*, *argumentum*, and *preces*. These prayers were also undoubtedly recited in the context of cult and ritual ceremonies. Yet they do not derive directly from the tradition of Old Hittite incantations. As most literary genres, the Hittite royal prayers were profoundly influenced by Mesopotamian prototypes (first of all, hymns and prayers to the Sun-god), either by direct borrowing or through the mediation of the Hurrians.[830] As in the case of festivals and magical practices (see 3.2.6 & 9),

824 Klinger 1996: 738f.
825 Cf. Laroche 1964-1965: 8ff.; Lebrun 1980: 431ff.
826 With regard to the structure of Hittite prayers, Justus (2004: 270) argues for the shared Indo-European grammatical patterns. These patterns, however, go beyond the Indo-European religious heritage and are common for prayers belonging to different cultural and ethno-linguistic realms.
827 CTH 371, 389.2 & 385.10, Lebrun 1980: 83ff., 392ff.; Archi 1988b; Singer 2002a: 21ff. (nos 1–3); 2002b: 301ff. The invocation of the Sun-goddess of the Earth (CTH 371) demonstrates close ties with the Luwian milieu.
828 CTH 372-389, Lebrun 1980; Singer 2002a. For a discussion of *arkuwar*, see Laroche 1964–1965: 13ff.; cf. also Houwink ten Cate 1969: 82ff.; Lebrun 1980: 426ff.; Singer 1996: 47ff.; Melchert 1998: 45ff.; Singer 2002a: 5f. In some prayers of the type, however, the preamble and/or colophon refer to the *mugawar* ('invocation') of a certain deity; cf. Lebrun 1980: 431f.
829 Beckman 1999a: 521.
830 For the distinction between original, translated and adopted literature, see, e.g., Singer 1995b; further 2002b: 311 on the Babylonian background of the prayers to the Sun-god, CTH 372-374. Cf. also Güterbock 1958. For Hurrian prayers and hymns, see Wilhelm 1991; 1994a.

Kizzuwatna presumably played a significant role in transferring Hurrian prayers and adaptations of Mesopotamian prayers to the land of Ḫatti.

In the royal prayers a developed *invocatio* sometimes takes on the form of a hymnic introduction, which in some of Muršili II's prayers takes up about a third of the text.[831] Hittite scribes adapted the style and lifted whole phrases from the Babylonian hymns. The most frequently addressed gods are the solar deities: the Sun-god of Heaven as the all-seeing supreme deity of justice and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Lady of the land of Ḫatti. In other prayers, Teššub as the main god of the pantheon is summoned in his various hypostases. Prayers have been preserved addressed to Telipinu, the Storm-god of Nerik, and the chthonic deities, the Sun-goddess of the Earth and Lelwani / Allatu. In a situation of exceptional danger, with pestilence ravaging the land, Muršili II appeals to the highest divine authority, the Storm-god of Ḫatti and the Assembly of Gods and Goddesses, also because all previous efforts to stop the plague proved ineffective and there was need to determine which god's unappeased anger had brought down the calamity.[832]

Muwattalli II's prayer CTH 381 holds an exceptional position among prayers to the Assembly of Gods (see also 3.2.1). The gods of the Hittite state pantheon (140 deities belonging to 83 different localities) are approached by the sacred bull Šeri, the Sun-god of Heaven, and the king's personal god, Teššub / Tarḫunt of Lightning (*piḫaššašši*).[833] "Curiously, the prayer is lacking any confessions of actual sins and also any specific request of the suppliant. It simply serves as an all-purpose model prayer, the actual causes to be inserted whenever the occasion arises."[834] The prayer was accompanied by sacrifices to the gods of Ḫatti.

The argumentation (plea) has also the features of a personal prayer, best observed in prayers to the Sun-god (CTH 372-374)[835] that demonstrate a dependence on Babylonian "incantations for appeasing an angry god."[836] The author of one of

831 CTH 376 & 377, Lebrun 1980: 155ff.; Bernabé 1987: 267ff.; Singer 2002a: 49ff. (nos 8-9); Kassian – Yakubovich 2007.
832 Muršili's plague prayers, CTH 378 & 379, Lebrun 1980: 193ff.; Beckman 1997b; García Trabazo 2002: 289ff.; Singer 2002a: 56ff. (nos 10–14); cf. also Haas 2006: 255ff.
833 CTH 381, Lebrun 1980: 256ff.; Bernabé 1987: 285ff.; Singer 1996; 2002a: 85ff. (no. 20); García Trabazo 2002: 331ff.
834 Singer 2002a: 86.
835 Lebrun 1980: 92ff.; Bernabé 1987: 259ff.; Görke 2000; Singer 2002a: 30ff. (no. 4); and 2002b with references to the earlier literature of this group of prayers (p. 310 n. 54); cf. also Haas 2006: 254.
836 Lambert 1974; Güterbock 1974b.

the prayers (CTH 373) was not the king, but prince Kantuzzili, who was appointed high priest of Teššub and Ḫebat in Kizzuwatna during the reign of his brother Tutḫaliya III. Negative confession and the concept of personal responsibility for sins committed and their resultant punishment appears in Kantuzzili's prayer and in the later royal prayers.[837] The confession is intended to appease the gods. At the same time, as an element of argumentation in the plea, the suppliant starts to question divine justice, using both moral and 'beneficial' arguments. This is an effort to dissuade the god from punishment and from sending down further disasters.[838]

In later prayers, conditional vows of gifts come to the fore, in keeping with the *do ut des* principle. In her prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Mezzulla, Zintuḫi, and the Storm-god of Zipḷanda for the well-being of her husband Ḫattušili III (CTH 384) Puduḫepa promised solemnly that she would give the deities prized cult objects and land properties.[839] Her son Tutḫaliya IV vowed to build a new temple to the Sun-goddess of Arinna in return for military success.[840] This emphasis on making vows to the gods in the late prayers coincided with the appearance of a new category of votive texts, starting from Ḫattušili the king of Ḫakmiš (later Ḫattušili III) under the reign of his brother Muwattalli II.[841]

3.2.8. Omen and divination

Not only people pleaded with the gods, but the gods also communicated with humans.[842] An unsolicited sign sent by a deity (*auguria oblativa*, or 'offered portent, omen') was seldom verbal. When the gods seized the initiative in communication, they could send an omen making use of the elements of the cosmos and nature which they controlled, for instance, through meteorological phenomena such as thunder and lightning. From the dawn of civilization the inhabitants of Asia Minor observed such phenomena and treated them as a divine message. In response they performed

837 Singer 2005.
838 Singer 2004.
839 Lebrun 1980: 329ff.; Sürenhagen 1981: 108ff.; Bernabé 1987: 299ff.; García Trabazo 2002: 353ff.; Singer 2002a: 101ff. (no. 22); Haas 2006: 265ff.
840 CTH 385.9, Lebrun 1980: 357ff.; Singer 2002a: 108ff. (no. 24).
841 CTH 583-585 & 590, Otten – Souček 1965; de Roos 1984; 1989; 1998; 2002; 2007.
842 Beckman 1999a: 525ff.; Riemschneider 2004: XVff.

meteorological rites, which are known starting from the Old Hittite period (3.1.3). Very little is known of divinatory techniques in the interpretation of omens that belonged to the Anatolian tradition from before the Empire period. During the Old Hittite magical ritual CTH 416 (see 3.1.4) a diviner (^{LÚ}AZU)[843] and an Old Woman observed a fire in the hearth and divined from the appearance of a bloody-colored liquid called *tarlipa*.[844] Auguries, or observation of birds, and 'symbol' (KIN) oracles derived from a local tradition (see below), although the former system of divination is known only from Empire texts, and the sole preserved oracular inquiry of the latter type that is written in the Old Script[845] may also originate from the earliest phase of the Empire period, like several liver models which reveal the Old Script, too.[846]

Sometimes the burden of the divine message was manifest, as when the Storm-god strikes an enemy city with a thunderbolt to show that he is on the side of the Hittite army: "The mighty Storm-god, My Lord, revealed his divine power. He shot a thunderbolt. My armies saw the thunderbolt and the land of Arzawa saw it. The thunderbolt went and struck Arzawa. It struck Apaša, Uḫḫaziti's city (probably Ephesus). Uḫḫaziti fell to his knees and he became ill."[847] Most of the omens required a 'scholarly' interpretation, which was based in Mesopotamia on collecting such messages from the gods and the events that followed them. Vast glossaries were created, in which omens of a similar type were recorded together to form a collection. Each omen was framed as a conditional sentence: the first clause, the *protasis*, recorded the ominous signifier and the second clause, the *apodosis*, the signified. This type of 'research' expressed the conviction that the gods' language remains unchanged and the repetition of the same omen augurs the same result, thus allowing the future to be predicted.

Numerous manuals of Mesopotamian origin (partially translated into Hittite) found in the archives in Ḫattuša give evidence of the Babylonian art of *divinatio naturalis*. These glossaries of omens were passed along to the Hittites by the

843 In Hittite texts the logograms ^{LÚ}ḪAL and ^{LÚ}AZU are both an equivalent of the Akkadian title *bārû*; see Gurney 1977: 45 with n. 6.
844 KBo 17.1+ iv 7ff., Otten – Souček 1969: 36f.; Neu 1980: 10; cf. Popko 1995a: 83; Haas 2003a: 780.
845 KBo 18.151, Ünal – Kammenhuber 1974–1975.
846 Güterbock 1987: 148; cf. also Schuol 1994: 86.
847 KBo 3.4 ii 16ff., Götze 1933: 46f.; English translation after Mineck 2006: 255. Beal (2003b: 85) gives a slightly different translation of this passage.

Hurrians.[848] They deal with celestial omens such as lunar eclipses (CTH 532) and other sorts of signs given by the moon (CTH 533), sun (CTH 534), and stars (CTH 535), with terrestrial happenings like earthquakes (CTH 541), monstrous births (CTH 538-540), physiognomic (CTH 543) and 'terrestrial' omens from a person's behavior (CTH 536), medical prognostications (CTH 537) and animal behavior (CTH 544), as well as with oil (CTH 542) and calendar omens, connecting events with a given month or day (CTH 545-546).[849] There are also handbooks of extispicy with vast registers of marks and configurations of various internal organs, mostly the liver (CTH 548-556), including liver models themselves (CTH 547; see below).[850]

This was surely not only 'scholarly' and school literature. That the scholarly experts in Ḫattuša benefited practically from these Mesopotamian manuals is proved not only by the translations into Hittite which have been found. In a substitute king ritual, the ruler addresses the Moon-god: "Listen to me, O Moon-god. [Since] you, [O Moon-god], have given me a sign – if you have (thereby) announced evil for me, (accept this substitute in my place)."[851] The relevant manuals dealing with lunar omens confirm that a lunar eclipse could have announced the king's death.[852] In a later period, the Neo-Assyrian rulers, like the Hittites, did not see any other way of avoiding a disaster than performing a substitute king ritual.[853]

Knowledge collected in effect of *divinatio naturalis* was not sufficient in emergency situations. When the gods did not deign to give a sign, the only way of learning their will was to ask questions of them directly, requesting an answer in a particular divine language. The Latin term for this type of communication was *auguria impetrativa*, or 'demanded portent, divination.' More than 700 tablets and fragments

848 For Hurrian omens (CTH 774), see Kammenhuber 1976b: 153ff.; de Martino 1992; Trémouille 2005: 144f. (no. 260), 168f. (nos 279–280).
849 See, in general, Kammenhuber 1976b: 66ff.; Riemschneider 2004. Cf. also Riemschneider 1970; Archi 1987; Güterbock 1988; Koch-Westenholz 1993; Wilhelm 1994c.
850 For the texts, see Riemschneider 2004. For 55 models of livers from Ḫattuša, see Güterbock 1987; Meyer 1987: 38ff., Pls 5–12. Cf. also Biggs 1980–1983; Meyer 1980–1983.
851 KUB 24.5 obv. 8'f., Kümmel 1967: 8ff.; English translation after Beckman 1999a: 531. On a lunar omen as the reason for performing such a ritual, see Kümmel 1967: 189; van den Hout 1994a: 41; Taracha 2000: 220. Compare also an allusion to a lunar omen in Pittei's ritual, KUB 44.4+KBo 13.241 rev. 2ff., Beckman 1983: 176f.; Starke 1985: 234; Giorgieri 2004: 409f.
852 KBo 8.47 obv. 12'; KBo 34.110 obv. 10f., 17f.; KBo 34.116 i 7'ff., Riemschneider 2004: 18f., 168f., 171.
853 Parpola 1983: XXIIff.

of tablets (CTH 561-582) report the results of such oracular inquiries, which consist of series of questions phrased so that the answer would come either as a 'yes' or as a 'no.'[854] The consultation proceeded through a process of elimination. Different possible sources of divine anger were tested or the god was presented with different options in order to understand his opinion in any given situation. Most inquiries intended to discover the reasons of misfortune attributable to divine disfavor, such as a ruler's illness or the plague. The Hittites asked also the gods whether dreams or unsolicited omens really were messages, where the king should spend the winter, which routes of campaigns would be the best, etc.[855] Some of these inquiries are the source of interesting historical information.[856] The results of an individual question were checked, usually by means of another system of oracles.

The Hittites practiced at least six different methods of taking oracles.[857] Extispicy, designated by Hittite scribes as the *TE(RĒTU)* 'exta' or KUŠ 'flesh' oracle (CTH 570-571), called for the examination of the innards of a slaughtered sheep. Hepatoscopy was part of a testing procedure. A diviner (sumerographically ^{LÚ}ḪAL or ^{LÚ}AZU) carried out the expertise, and the Hurrian technical terms connected with this divinatory technique indicate that it had reached Anatolia via the Hurrians.

In a related 'sheep' or 'bed' oracle (CTH 576) the diviner observed the behavior of a sheep on its way to slaughter for a 'flesh' oracle. The Mesopotamian divinatory genre behind this practice is *šumma immeru*, 'If a sheep...' The Hittite 'bed' oracles, with their Hurrian *termini technici*, may stem from Hurrian versions of the omens.[858]

Augury, or the observation of birds (CTH 573), derived from a local tradition.[859] The augurs (^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ or ^{LÚ}IGI.MUŠEN) observed the flight and other movements of various types of birds (at least 25 are mentioned in the texts) in a strictly defined oracular field resembling the templum of Roman bird watchers.[860]

854 Beckman 1999a: 526ff.; Beal 2002b; 2002c; now also Haas 2008.
855 For the contents of oracle questions, see Ünal 1978: 14ff.
856 e.g., CTH 569, van den Hout 1998.
857 For their adequate description, see Beal 2002b; cf. also Kammenhuber 1976b: 9ff.; Beckman 1999a: 527ff.; van den Hout 2003-2005a; Haas 2008.
858 Hoffner 1993; Beal 2002b: 64f.; Y. Cohen 2007.
859 Ünal 1973; Archi 1975b; Beal 2002b: 65ff., 73. For the social status of the augurs, see now Hazenbos 2007: 99ff.
860 An oracle text KUB 49.60 preserves in column iv the right half of a roughly sketched plan of the demarcated oracular area; cf. Archi 1975b: 150 n. 87; Haas – Wegner 1996: 108 Fig. 1; Czyzewska 2007: 150.

Similarly as hepatoscopy, Anatolian augury was in all probability ancestral to the similar Roman practice, adopted from the Etruscans acting in this case as an intermediary.

It remains a puzzle how the gods sent messages through the *ḪURRI*-birds, perhaps a type of duck that nested in a burrow. This type of oracle (CTH 574) was performed by a diviner and has nothing to do with augury. As Richard Beal remarks, "perhaps *ḪURRI*-bird oracles were bird-extispicy, ... or perhaps poison oracles, or perhaps *ḪURRI*-birds simply gave a heads or tails response, either literally or figuratively."[861]

Another native form are the 'symbol' (KIN) oracles (CTH 572).[862] They were performed by an Old Woman and they should presumably be understood as a kind of game using three types of symbols. The active symbol (perhaps some animal in this role?) called with the name of a deity, or 'the dais,' 'the king,' etc., took the passive ones (usually abstract ideas of a positive or negative meaning) and gave them to the receptacles (gods, familiar and unfamiliar persons, and abstract concepts). The actual course of the divination remains a mystery. Snake oracles (CTH 575) resemble the last mentioned type of divination that made use of symbolic tokens.[863] Water snakes assigned to particular symbols moved from one symbolically named spot in the basin to another.

In dreams the gods spoke directly to humans, although not all night visions featured deities.[864] Many dreams, including 'evil' ones,[865] were symbolic, and their message called for an interpretation.[866] In the case of unfavorable signs, which were the source of contamination, magic was a great help.[867] Mentions of message dreams or 'evil' dreams occur in prayers, magic incantations, historical texts, and also as a reason for oracular inquiries (see above).[868] The best known dreams perhaps are

861 Beal 2002b: 72.
862 Archi 1974; Orlamünde 2001; Beal 2002b: 76ff.
863 Laroche 1958; Beal 2002b: 74; Lefèvre-Novaro – Mouton 2008.
864 CTH 583-584, 590, Mouton 2007a: 244ff.; cf. also H.G. Güterbock apud Oppenheim 1956: 254f.; Vieyra 1959; Werner 1973; de Roos 1984; van den Hout 1994b; de Roos 2007.
865 Mouton 2007a: 54ff.
866 There are only a few fragments of predictions based on symbolic dreams, which could be called a Hittite-language dream-book, cf. KUB 43.11(+)12, Riemschneider 2004: 153f.
867 Mouton 2007b.
868 Mouton 2007a: 30ff., 87ff., 118ff.

the dreams of Ḫattušili III and his wife Puduḫepa, recalled by Ḫattušili in his *Apology*. The directness of these communications of Šauška to and on behalf of the king is exceptional, confirming the protection and patronage of the goddess over his whole life.[869]

Dreams could also be the source of solicited omens. Incubation oracles are evidenced in everyday magical practices, as well as in situations of the gravest danger for the land, like pestilence or a threat to the king's life and health.[870] The best known testimony is a desperate plea by Muršili II to the Storm-god of Ḫatti to reveal in whatever way the reason for the plague ravaging the country: "[Or] if people have been dying because of some other reason, then let me either see it in a dream, or let it be established through an oracle, or let a man of god declare it, or, according to what I instructed to all the priests, they shall regularly sleep holy (in an incubation oracle)."[871]

The 'divine man, enthusiast' (Hittite *šiuniyant-*) mentioned in this text is evidenced only in a few broken contexts.[872] We do not know therefore how he contacted the deity and how common was the phenomenon of prophecy among the Hittites. Neither can we ascertain whether the 'man of god' was a conduit for omens or for oracles. In this situation, it is best to avoid comparisons with the institutional prophecy in Israel.

3.2.9. Magic and mythology

Magical rituals of the Empire period were rooted in Anatolian tradition but evidently inspired by Syrian and Mesopotamian magic[873] (see 3.1.4). Even so, Anatolian magic was more 'earthly' than that of Syria and Mesopotamia; it was a resultant of practical experiences of ritualists. Otherwise than in Mesopotamia, magical writings were not perceived as a continuation of an ancient tradition and the gods

869 KUB 1.1+ (CTH 81) i 12ff., 36ff., iii 4ff., iv 8ff., 19ff., Otten 1981: 4f., 6f., 16f., 24f.; Mouton 2007a: 88ff. Cf. also Mouton 2006.
870 Mouton 2003.
871 KUB 14.8 rev. 41'ff.; KUB 14.10+KUB 26.86 iv 14'ff. (CTH 378), translated by Singer 2002a: 60 (no. 11). Cf. also Mouton 2003: 74f.; 2007a: 121f.
872 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 300.
873 For the most important literature on Hittite magic in general, see n. 398.

were not considered their authors. There are no counterparts in Anatolia of the divine masters of magic, Ea and Asalluḫi; Kamrušepa alone was sometimes compared in Luwian circles with the Babylonian Gula, as indicated by some spells attributed to Kamrušepa which are literal translations of Babylonian formulas.

If one considers the Luwian and Hurrian names of ritualists and their origins in the heavily Hurrianized communities in southern Anatolia and northern Syria, it comes as no surprise that so many magical practices and mythologems were borrowed from Mesopotamia and northern Syria through the mediation of the Hurrians. The Kizzuwatna rituals in particular evidence a close cultural symbiosis between Luwians and Hurrians in this region.[874] These rituals are distinguished by a separate Hurrian terminology[875] and sequences of techniques typical of this milieu.[876]

As plausibly argued by Jared L. Miller, "it seems that there is ample evidence suggesting that at least a significant portion of the Kizzuwatnean ritual literature at Ḫattuša was taken over from a previous scribal tradition in Kizzuwatna. Perhaps much of the original composition of the ritual tradition took place not at Ḫattuša, but in Kizzuwatna, and the material was recorded not by Hittite scribes, but by scribes associated with the state archives of Kizzuwatna."[877] Also the originally Hurrian compositions of ritualists from northern Syria, as e.g. the Allaituraḫ(ḫ)i rituals (CTH 780),[878] may perhaps have been translated by scribes employed at Ḫattuša in the appropriation of the material from the Kizzuwatna archives.[879]

This cannot be terribly surprising considering that the new dynasty of the Empire period came from Kizzuwatna. The scribes from Ḫattuša, undoubtedly at the request of the Hittite royal court, drew up adaptations and new redactions based on tablets from Kizzuwatna;[880] they also introduced motifs and magical techniques from the Kizzuwatnean tradition into other rituals, descriptions of which were

874 Haas – Wilhelm 1974; Miller 2004; Strauß 2006. Cf. also Hutter 2003: 250ff.
875 Haas 1998.
876 Strauß 2005: 238f.; 2006: 76ff.
877 Miller 2004: 254; 2005a: 538. Cf. also Strauß 2005: 230 ("Den Schreibern in Ḫattuša müssen Vorlagen aus Kizzuwatna zur Verfügung gestanden haben").
878 Haas 1988e; Haas – Wegner 1988: 48ff. (nos 1–39); Haas 2007.
879 Cf. Miller 2004: 506ff.; 2005b.
880 Note, e.g., a birth ritual KBo 17.65 (with its duplicate KUB 44.59), CTH 489, which represents a compilation of several earlier, closely related, tablets, including those from Kizzuwatna (obv. 37ff., rev. 45f.), Beckman 1983: 132ff.; cf. also Trémouille 1997: 143; Strauß 2005: 230.

composed already in Ḫattuša. This is in keeping with what has been stated with regard to relations between the cult tradition of Kizzuwatna and the festivals for Teššub, Ḫebat, Šauška and other Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean divinities, celebrated in the capital and other centers (3.2.6).

Knowledge of Mesopotamian magic mostly came to the Hittites via Kizzuwatna, although some of the Mesopotamian rituals reached Ḫattuša directly. Texts written in the Assyro-Mittanian script and based on Middle Babylonian prototypes, such as, for example, a *Sammeltafel* KBo 36.29 containing Akkadian rituals,[881] should be linked with the tradition of Mittani and Nineveh;[882] they testify to the role played by scribes from the Mittanian and the Babylonian-Assyrian school in transferring the Mesopotamian tradition to Anatolia.[883]

Experienced female practitioners, called Old Women by the Hittites, played the most important role in Anatolian magic[884] (cf. 3.1.4). They held also a prominent position among the temple officials who were engaged in divination (3.2.8), which accords with abundant evidence for the relation between divination and magic. The most famous of them enjoyed a high status at the royal court, and the rituals they composed were often copied. The Old Woman was sometimes helped by others – a diviner, hierodula or augur(s).[885] Rituals were also performed by women of other professions: midwives[886] (especially rituals connected with childbirth[887]), hierodulae, temple singers, and priestesses. Among men, mainly diviners (LÚAZU or LÚḪAL),[888] augurs, and the Man of the Storm-god[889] appear as ritualists; in the case of rites of Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean origin there is also an incantation priest (*LÚpurapšiš* or *LÚpatiliš*).[890] One can point out a few examples of rituals carried out by a person without the help of any specialized practitioners. Such incantations may have been performed

881 Schwemer 1998.
882 Haas 2003a: 41f.; 2003b: 133f.
883 Wilhelm 1992b; Schwemer 1998: 8ff.; Strauß 2002; Haas 2003a: 36ff., 41ff.; Schwemer 2004b: 75ff.; 2007a: 255f.
884 Engelhard 1970: 5ff.; Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 581ff.; Beckman 1993; Haas 2003a: 16ff. with references.
885 Bawanypeck 2005.
886 Haas 2003a: 23.
887 Beckman 1983.
888 See n. 843.
889 Ünal 1998: 67ff.; Haas 2001; 2003a: 14ff.
890 Haas 2003a: 13f.

in an emergency, when a professional conjurer could not easily be found, or as a first attempt to solve a problem. These texts, very few unfortunately, are valuable evidence of folk piety and ways of contacting the gods in everyday practice.[891]

A standard model of a magical text was formed at an early stage during the Empire period. The preamble gives the name of an author, sometimes his/her profession, town and/or country of origin, and a purpose of the ritual. The text proper falls into three parts: an introductory list of paraphernalia required to perform the ritual, description of the magical practices applied, and appropriate incantations. Most frequently, the ritual is a combination of various (complementary) magical techniques intended to increase its effectiveness. The colophon at the end of the text repeats information from the preamble, more seldom the beginning of the description proper.

Purificatory rituals are the most numerous group among the magical texts; practices and spells in them were based on analogic magic. Their task was to remove contamination resulting from contact with beings considered impure, evil sorcery, god's anger, etc.[892] This served to deliver the patient from various misfortunes, like illness, pestilence, but also the effects of crime, intrigue, slander, witchcraft, and defeat on the battlefield.

Cleansing was achieved most often by bathing, washing or sprinkling with water, sometimes with the addition of other substances regarded as having purifying properties.[893] Water was drawn from rivers or springs in the course of appropriate ritual practices.[894] In certain circumstances, the hands were washed with wine.[895] Rituals of Hurrian(-Kizzuwatnean) origin mention 'water of purification' (*šeḫelliya(š) wādar/widār*) that contained other purificatory substances; it was prepared according to a special recipe said to be given by the gods.[896] The Hurrians also used silver as a purifying agent, sometimes in combination with the water of purification.[897] From Mesopotamia comes a recipe for water taking on magic properties when left on the roof for the night in order to "sleep under the stars."[898] The custom of washing

891 Torri 2004.
892 See, in general, Moyer 1969; Wilhelm 1999b.
893 Haas 2003a: 141ff.
894 Haas 2003a: 146ff.; Strauß 2006: 34ff.
895 Haas 2003a: 251f.
896 Strauß 2001; Haas 2003a: 151ff.; Strauß 2006: 38ff.
897 Haas 1982: 177ff.; 2003a: 214ff.
898 Haas 2003a: 152f.; Strauß 2006: 43f.

with rain water and dew was adopted from Syria.[899] Combing out impurities was also applied,[900] as was rubbing them off the patient and his/her belongings.

After the washing that removed pollution, the patient was sometimes rubbed or anointed with clean substances intended to fill him/her with cleanliness. A noticeable mark of this was the replacement of cast-off clothes by a white robe.[901]

An eagerly applied practice was the ritual of passage. The passage between halves of a pup or kid (and in the case of a defeated army even a human corpse),[902] through a gate of prickly branches and between fires burning behind it, was supposed to deliver from impurity and all evil.[903]

In rituals revealing connections with the Luwian milieu a variety of carriers of contamination appear (often confused with substitutes, see below), whose task was to take evil away from the patient and move it to a different place.[904] The Biblical scapegoat is a typical carrier.[905] In Anatolian magic, the goat appears in this role already in the Old Hittite period (3.1.4),[906] although on the *pars pro toto* principle, body secretions, nails, hair and any object, animal or figurine could have acted as a carrier as well. One of the more frequent practices was waving an object, most often an animal, over the patient in the belief that contamination would pass onto it through contiguity.[907] In keeping with the *similia similibus* principle, incantations accompanying these practices attributed parts of the body of the ill person to corresponding parts of the body of the animal to which the contamination was to be passed. This spell has Mesopotamian roots and reached southern Anatolia via Syria.[908]

Cathartic practices included action against black magic.[909] The destruction of a figurine or vessel representing the sorcerer or sorceress meant in the magical sense

899 Haas 2003a: 145.
900 Haas 2003a: 730f.
901 Haas 2003a: 614ff.; Strauß 2006: 137ff.
902 Kümmel 1967: 150f. with references; Beal 1995: 74; Haas 2003a: 545f.
903 Haas 1994a: 898ff.; 2003a: 691ff.; Strauß 2006: 133ff.
904 Haas 2003a: 401ff., 539ff.
905 Leviticus 16, 8–28; cf. Janowski – Wilhelm 1993: 109ff.; Pfeiffer 2001. The earliest textual evidence for a goat as a carrier of impurity comes from third millennium BC Ebla, see Zatelli 1998 with references.
906 Janowski – Wilhelm 1993; Haas 2003b; Strauß 2006: 130ff.
907 Cf. Haas – Wilhelm 1974: 42ff.; Strauß 2006: 72ff.
908 Haas 1971.
909 See now Schwemer 2007a: 255ff. with full discussion and references. Black magic, or 'sorcery' (Hittite *alwanzatar*) as one of the offences which threatened the foundational principles of society

annihilation of the perpetrator of pollution. At the same time the Old Woman transferred the evil charm back onto the sorcerer by a spell and manipulating things in reverse order to the way in which the sorcerer's spell was cast.

The authors of rituals often referred to two mutually combined ideas of binding or utter powerlessness (*katadesis*) and release (*apolysis*), which were generally of key significance for ancient magic, permitting the states of both nature and man to be described (see also 3.1.4). The *katadesis*, understood as a result of contamination with some magical impurity, required a purificatory ritual to be performed in order to release and heal the patient. The author of one ritual, which was intended to cure a disease that paralyzed a child's body, used in her incantation a mythologem describing the state of nature, first paralyzed and then set free. In keeping with the principles of analogic magic, the release of nature by the goddess Kamrušepa moved the mother goddess DINGIR.MAḪ to do the same for the sick child; thus the healing came through analogy, from the will of the goddess, and the Old Woman carrying out the ritual only implemented the divine decision.[910] According to the same principles, delivery from contamination could be achieved also through specific magical practices, for example, by removing bonds from the patient or by cutting earlier tied woolen yarn which was believed to have the ability of absorbing impurities.[911] Similar purificatory properties were attributed to dough and bread.[912]

Substitution rituals[913] were intended as a means of deflecting a bad fate from an individual whose illness or death was foretold by oracles, an evil omen or a dream (3.2.8). The substitute, identified with a patient, was offered to the deity responsible for a threat. It could be an object (a vessel for example), an animal or figurine, even a human being, as in the case of the substitute king rituals that appeared at a later stage during the Empire period under the influence of Babylonian models.[914] A specific group is constituted by rituals from the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean milieu, referred

fell within the competence of the royal court (LH § 44b, 111), Hoffner 1997a: 52f., 107, 189; 2006a: 93f.; cf. also Westbrook 2006: 46ff.; Schwemer 2007a: 258f.

910 KBo 3.8+KUB 7.1 (CTH 390A) iii 1ff., Kronasser 1961: 156ff.; Haas 2003a: 537ff.; Oettinger 2004: 348ff.; Haas 2006: 301f.

911 Haas 2003a: 663f., 672f.

912 Strauß 2006: 56ff.

913 van Brock 1959; Gurney 1977: 52ff.; Haas 1994a: 895ff.; Taracha 2000: 207ff.; Haas 2003a: 401ff., 539ff.

914 Kümmel 1967; 1968; Taracha 1992; 2000: 219ff.

to by the Hittites as 'taking off the earth' (*taknaz da-*). The term was understood as deliverance from the threat of death and the power of the netherworld deities.[915] In that case, substitutes in the form of figurines and animals were placed under the power of the Sun-goddess of the Earth, the mother goddesses DINGIR.MAḪ$^{\text{MEŠ/ḪI.A}}$ / Daraweš Gulšeš and the netherworld deities. In another ritual, which formally does not belong in this group, a woman appears as a substitute for an ill queen and the addressee is Lelwani / Allatu.[916]

Invoking the gods to come on the scene conditioned efficacy of these practices. The Hurrians came up with the idea for rituals of evocation performed usually by incantation priests, but also by a diviner, a group of diviners or an Old Woman. Most of the rituals of this type were introduced from Kizzuwatna and northern Syria.[917] The main part of the ceremony was the symbolic summoning of a deity down a 'path' made of a colored scarf or marked with flour and the aroma of wine and oil.[918] This was accompanied by offerings to the gods in pits (Hurrian *abi*) dug specially for the ritual, through which contact with the netherworld took place.[919] The practice of marking out a road for the chthonic deities and offerings to them in the *abi*-pits were also part of other rites, for example, the above mentioned rituals of taking the patient off the earth.

Appeasement and summoning of an angry god, whose departure had been caused by a state of impurity perceived as magical binding, is the main theme of evocation rituals deriving from a genuine Anatolian tradition, called *mugawar* ('entreaty') in Hittite (see 3.1.4). In rituals of this kind the mythological content dominates over a description of the actual magical practices. The pattern of a myth is almost identical in most cases. The disappearance of a god leads to life fading from earth. The gods seek him. In the end, a bee finds the vanishing god and wakes him up with

915 Taracha 1985; 1990; 2000; 2001; Hutter 1988; see now also Görke 2005.

916 A substitution ritual mentioned in the prayer for the recovery of Gaššuliyawiya (CTH 380), Tischler 1981; Singer 2002a: 71ff. Cf. also Torri 1999: 41ff.

917 For a list of Hittite evocation rituals, see Haas – Wilhelm 1974: 9ff.

918 Haas 2003a: 94ff., 622f.; Strauß 2006: 47ff. with references. In this way the gods of an enemy city could also be evoked, as in the ritual CTH 423, first related to a military campaign of Muršili II, see now del Monte 2005: 27ff.; Fuscagni 2007a.

919 Collins 2002b; de Martino – Giorgieri 2008: 8 with references. For the Hurrian *abi* as a necromantic pit, see also Kelly-Buccellati's (2002) interpretation of an underground structure southwest of the royal palace at Tell Mozan / Urkeš from the third millennium BC; cf. also Buccellati 2005: 5f., 11.

its sting. The pain causes even greater anger of the god and then Kamrušepa steps onto the stage, using a magic means to calm him and persuade him to return. Despite the fact that in these myths it is mostly the vegetation and fertility god Telipinu who takes on the role of the vanishing god,[920] these are not vegetation myths. The return, or magic 'release,' was supposed to ensure the favor and protection of the god for a given individual. The myth in this case is an illustration of a ritual of appeasement. Other gods vanish as well: storm-gods,[921] including the Storm-god of Kuliwišna,[922] the solar deity (see 3.1.4), Inar,[923] a *kurša*-bag,[924] as well as Ḫannaḫanna / DINGIR.MAḪ,[925] the mother and fate goddesses DINGIR.MAḪ$^{MEŠ/ḪI.A}$ Gulšeš,[926] and the goddesses Anzili and Zukki summoned in the birth rituals.

The Telipinu myth derived from an early Anatolian tradition, but the surviving versions, in which Luwian and Syro-Mesopotamian influence is easily observable, do not allow it to be considered Old Hittite in nature.[927] The three known versions of the myth, recited presumably in the course of various appeasement rituals by different authors, suggest that in this period it had started to change gradually into a literary piece. Even so, the myth had not yet been severed from the ritual, as it is the case of myths of foreign origin which are known from Hittite adaptations found in the archives of Ḫattuša.[928]

The cycle of Hurrian myths, or rather songs, as the Hittites called them, in which the linking figure is the old ruler of the world, Kumarbi, banished to the underworld by Teššub, was undoubtedly a literary composition,[929] although it may also

920 CTH 324, Otten 1942; Laroche 1969b: 29ff.; Moore 1975: 18ff.; Haas 1977b: 81ff.; Kellerman 1986; Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990: 71ff.; Ünal 1994b: 815ff.; G. Beckman apud Beckman – Hoffner 1997: 151ff.; Hoffner 1998: 14ff.; García Trabazo 2002: 105ff.; Mazoyer 2003: 73ff.; Haas 2006: 103ff.; M. Mazoyer apud Freu – Mazoyer 2007a: 193ff.

921 CTH 326, Laroche 1969b: 59ff.; Moore 1975: 49ff.; Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990: 104f.; Hoffner 1998: 24f. CTH 327, Laroche 1969b: 62ff.; Moore 1975: 53ff.; Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990: 105f.; Hoffner 1998: 25f.

922 KBo 9.109++ i 9ff. (CTH 329), Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990: 107f.; Ünal 1994b: 821f.; Glocker 1997: 26ff., 137f.

923 CTH 336, Ünal 1994b: 824f.; Hoffner 1998: 31.

924 CTH 336, Hoffner 1998: 30f.

925 CTH 334, Laroche 1969b: 78ff.; Moore 1975: 134ff.; Ünal 1994b: 822ff.; Hoffner 1998: 29f.

926 CTH 335, Hoffner 1998: 37f.

927 Haas – Wilhelm 1974: 22ff.; Popko 1995a: 80, 87.

928 See now, in general, Beckman 2005b.

929 Hoffner 1998: 40ff. (nos 14–18); cf. also Lebrun 1995b.

be associated with the concept of royal ideology of the Empire period (see 3.2.2). The cycle extols the advent of Teššub at the head of the pantheon, and the main theme is the struggle of the chthonic divinities with Teššub and the heavenly gods to recover power over the world. The opening Song of Kumarbi, or the 'Song of Genesis / Beginning'[930] relates the struggle for power between generations of gods. First Kumarbi deposed Anu (and before the latter there was Alalu who ruled the world), but then he succumbed to Teššub.[931] In successive songs Kumarbi attempted to recover power through his progeny. Unfortunately, the only preserved fragments of the cycle are songs of the monster LAMMA,[932] Silver,[933] Ḫedammu,[934] and Ullikummi.[935]

The archives of Ḫattuša preserve fragments of Hittite adaptations of many other Hurrian myths taking place in Syria (Šauška and the Pišaiša mountain,[936] the Song of Release[937]) and eastern Anatolia (Elkuniršа and Ašertu[938]), bigger epic cycles (story about the hunter Kešše,[939] the Epic of Gilgameš in the Hittite, Hurrian and Akkadian versions,[940] and the epos of Atra(m)ḫasîs[941]), as well as stories and fables with

930 Corti 2007.

931 CTH 344, Güterbock 1946: 6ff.; Otten 1950b: 5ff.; Laroche 1969b: 153ff.; Bernabé 1987: 146ff.; Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990: 115ff.; Ünal 1994b: 828ff.; Hoffner 1998: 42ff.; García Trabazo 2002: 155ff.; Haas 2006: 133ff.

932 CTH 343, Laroche 1969b: 145ff.; Güterbock 1961b: 161ff.; Bernabé 1987: 203ff.; Hoffner 1998: 46ff.; Haas 2006: 144ff.

933 CTH 364, Laroche 1969b: 177ff.; Bernabé 1987: 209ff.; Hoffner 1988; Ünal 1994b: 856ff.; Hoffner 1998: 48ff.; Haas 2006: 148ff.

934 CTH 348, Friedrich 1949, Laroche 1969b: 169ff.; Siegelová 1971: 35ff.; Bernabé 1987: 160ff.; Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990: 131ff.; Ünal 1994b: 844ff.; Hoffner 1998: 50ff.; Haas 2006: 153ff.

935 CTH 345, Güterbock 1952; Jakob-Rost 1977; Bernabé 1987: 171ff.; Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990: 142ff.; Ünal 1994b: 830ff.; Hoffner 1998: 55ff.; Giorgieri 2001; García Trabazo 2002: 176ff.; Haas 2006: 156ff.; Groddek 2007: 313ff. For Ea and the Beast, another song related to the Kumarbi cycle, see Archi 2002c. Cf. also n. 936.

936 CTH 350, Friedrich 1953: 147ff.; Haas 1994a: 462ff.; 2006: 212f. This story was reclassified with several other Hittite and Hurrian fragments as part of the Song of the Sea, a hitherto unknown episode of the Kumarbi cycle, see Rutherford 2001; Blam 2004; Singer 2007: 634f.

937 CTH 789, Neu 1996; Hoffner 1998: 65ff.; Wilhelm 2001; Haas 2006: 177ff.; cf. also Wilhelm 1992a; 1997.

938 CTH 342, Otten 1953; Hoffner 1965; Laroche 1969b: 139ff.; G. Beckman apud Beckman – Hoffner 1997: 149; Hoffner 1998: 90ff.; García Trabazo 2002: 141ff.; Haas 2006: 213ff.; Singer 2007.

939 CTH 361, Friedrich 1950; Ünal 1994b: 851f.; Hoffner 1998: 87ff.; Haas 2006: 206ff.; cf. also Xella 1978; Neu 1993; Wilhelm 1999a; Haas 2005: 369ff.

940 CTH 341, Otten 1958a; 1960; Wilhelm 1988; Beckman 2001; 2003; Haas 2006: 272ff.; cf. also Klinger 2005: 114ff.

941 CTH 347, Polvani 2003; Haas 2006: 277ff.

a moral presenting the gods in substantial roles (Appu and his Two Sons,[942] The Sun-god and the Cow,[943] story about Gurparanzaḫ[944]). All these legends are of Hurrian origin or else they reached Anatolia via the Hurrians. These are already literary texts, however, which had no connection with cult practice and ritual.

3.2.10. Eschatology, burial customs and the ancestor cult

In life man was a combination of the body (Hittite *tuekka-*, NÍ.TE) and a spiritual component, the soul (Hittite *ištanza(n)-*, ZI). The soul was the seat of rational thoughts in the sense of thinking, will, personality, as well as – along with the 'innards' (Hittite *karat-*, ŠÀ) – the seat of emotions.[945] The gods (like human beings) had both body and soul, as did the animals, too. A certain text which speaks of the spirit of a sheep being eaten by birds and foxes[946] suggests that unlike the souls of humans, those of animals died with the body. The souls of gods and the deceased were represented sometimes in symbolic form as objects of precious metals.

The Hittites perceived the difference between 'good' and 'evil,' that is, untimely death.[947] If a person died young, the fate goddesses Gulšeš (Hurrian Ḫudena) (3.2.4 & 5) could be blamed accordingly. Mostly, however, such an untimely death was considered a reaction on the gods' part to human behavior in the past. The gods' anger, as in the case of the plague, could have affected the whole community. Most often the reasons for the anger were unknown and answers were sought through oracles (3.2.8). An effort was also made to appease the gods by prayer (3.2.7). It was hoped that death, although inevitable, could be manipulated to a certain extent. By

942 CTH 360, Friedrich 1950; Siegelová 1971; Bernabé 1987: 217ff.; Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990: 163ff.; Ünal 1994b: 848ff.; H.A. Hoffner apud Beckman – Hoffner 1997: 153ff.; Hoffner 1998: 82ff.; Haas 2005: 362ff.; 2006: 194ff.

943 CTH 363, Güterbock 1946; Friedrich 1950; Hoffner 1981; Ünal 1994b: 853ff.; H.A. Hoffner apud Beckman – Hoffner 1997: 155f.; Hoffner 1998: 85ff.; Haas 2005: 366ff.; 2006: 199ff.

944 CTH 362, Haas 1989: 38f.; Ünal 1994b: 852f.; Pecchioli Daddi 2003; Haas 2006: 217ff.; Akdoğan 2007.

945 Kammenhuber 1964.

946 KUB 24.14 iv 19bff., Kammenhuber 1964: 163; Girbal 1986: 99.

947 For designations of death and their interpretation, see van den Hout 1994a: 39ff.; now also M. Kapełuś's paper ("Good death, bad death. Reflections on the Hittite attitude towards death") read at the 7th International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum, 25–29 August 2008.

vowing gifts one could persuade a god into reversing ill fortune and putting off the moment of death; one could also avail oneself of magic, as exemplified by the substitute king rituals (3.2.9).

The term '(propitious) day' (UD.(SIG$_5$)) refers to the moment of death that was perceived as a deity able to receive offerings (see 3.1.1). Death was also referred to as 'the day of one's destiny' or 'the day of (one's) mother.' The latter term informs us of how the Hittites understood the process of dying. The underlying idea of this expression may be that an individual's mother who set him/her on this earth (lifting him/her up from the netherworld in a sense) is the one who will come at the time of death to take him/her once again from the power of the Sun-goddess of the Earth and fetch him/her for his/her otherworldly existence in the meadow of the blessed.[948] Thus, "death is understood here as a kind of birth."[949] In the royal funerary ritual the Sun-goddess of the Earth is offered an effigy of the dead king as a substitute for him[950] and sacrifices of food and drinks, all this probably meant to appease her and cause her to set the ghost of the king free (see below).

Death is a special passage because it entails a change of both state and status. It is a passage from the corporeal to the spiritual. At the point of death the soul departed from the body. The body was buried either as an inhumation or a cremation, the latter being the rule in the royal family under the Empire (see below).[951] Funerary rituals transferred the dead to the new everyday state in the other world where they existed in their new status as spirits. The (ghost of the) dead person (Hittite *akkant-*, GIDIM) also had a soul. The ghost's relation to the soul "may be compared to that of soul and body before death, that is, the GIDIM may have been conceived of as more 'corporeal' than the soul, as some immaterial but potentially visible body."[952]

Having left the body, the soul embarked on a journey that was for it a period of trial and tribulation. An incantation recited during a (funerary?) ritual for a dead

948 For the meadow of the netherworld in the Indo-European tradition, see Puhvel 1969.

949 Beckman 1983: 237; cf. also van den Hout 1994a: 42f. In many different cultures the transfer of the ghost to the netherworld is connected with the symbolism of fertility and rebirth; see, e.g., Bloch – Parry (eds) 1982; A.C. Cohen 2005: 24f.

950 Taracha 1998b.

951 On the essence and significance of cremation, see a commentary under 1.2, and below.

952 van den Hout 1994a: 44.

woman describes the journey of her soul into the netherworld.[953] The text opposes the meadow, which is where the soul is headed,[954] to the evil *tenawa*, where "one [does not] recognize (each other). Sisters having the same mother do [not] recognize (each other). Brothers having the same father do [not] recognize (each other). A mother does [not] recognize [her] own child. [A child] does [not] recognize [its own] mother. (...) From a fine table they do not eat. From a fine trivet they do not eat. From a fine cup they do not drink. (...) They eat bits of mud. They drink drainage waters."[955] The description refers to the topos recurring in Babylonian mythology, which depicts the netherworld as a dark house whose inhabitants eat mud and clay.[956]

In the mentioned text the road the soul takes is called the 'great way.'[957] Images of souls traveling the road to the netherworld are known from many ancient cultures. The Sumerians had different names for this: 'a foreign road' (kaskal-bar), 'an unknown road at the edge of the mountain' (kaskal nu-za gaba-kur-ra-ka), 'the road of no return' (kaskal nu-gi_4-gi_4, Akkadian *lā târi*), 'the road of the netherworld' (kaskal-kur-ra(k)).[958] The last term is also found in Hittite texts as ^{D}KASKAL.KUR, and as (DEUS)VIA+TERRA in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from the funerary chapel of Šuppiluliuma II on the *Südburg* in Ḫattuša.[959] In Hittite, it means an underground watercourse,[960] perceived by the Hittites as one of the roads into the netherworld.

Appropriate rites connected with the funeral ceremonies were essential for the soul to reach the meadow happily. Practically nothing is known about funerals of

953 KUB 43.60 and KBo 22.178(+)KUB 48.109 (CTH 457), Hoffner 1988b; Watkins 1995: 284ff.; Hoffner 1998: 33f.; Haas 2006: 237ff.; Archi 2007b. For a different interpretation, see Polvani 2005. In her opinion, KUB 43.60 i describes the journey that a soul takes before 'entering' a newborn child. Consequently, it would constitute a mythical tale connected to a birth ritual. There are no grounds for recognizing this text as a copy of an Old Hittite original.

954 KUB 43.60 i 36 *uelluwa li[liyaḫmi*(?) "[I] has[ten(?)] to the meadow." Cf. Archi 2007b: 174 (who follows Watkins 1995: 287): "to the meadow let [me] trav[el quickly."

955 KBo 22.178(+)KUB 48.109 ii 4'ff., iii 1ff., translated by Hoffner 1998: 34, here with slight changes; cf. also Polvani 2005: 620; Archi 2007b: 174.

956 Katz 2003: 227ff. with references. Considering the date of this topos, Katz emphasizes that none of the myths (Ištar's Descent, Gilgameš VII, iv 32ff., Nergal and Ereškigal) has sources earlier than the Middle Babylonian period.

957 KUB 43.60 i 29.

958 Katz 2003: *passim*; cf. also Archi 2007b: 186f.

959 Hawkins 1995: 22f., 44f.

960 Gordon 1967; Otten 1976–1980d; 1988: 33f.

ordinary people, but a Kizzuwatnean funerary ritual shows that passage to the meadow of the netherworld was probably not limited to just the king and queen. During the ritual with the participation of the *išḫaralli*-priestess of the goddess (Ḫamri-)Išḫara and the *patili*-priest the latter calls six times the one who died by name from the roof of his house, asking "those gods with whom he (is)"[961] where he had gone. When the *patili*-priest poses the question the seventh time, he hears in answer: "For him the day of (his) mother [has come and] she has taken him by the hand and accompanied him."[962]

The death of a king was thought to be highly disconcerting from a religious point of view. It meant the loss of a man whose task was to contact the gods on behalf of the entire community and to celebrate their cults, a man who guaranteed the prosperity of the land. With his death came a state of common threat, and for this reason the death of a member of the royal family was called *šalliš waštaiš* 'great calamity (lit. big mishap).'[963] This expression is used in the opening lines of the fourteen-day royal funerary ritual: "If the Great Calamity occurs in Ḫattuša: either the king or the queen becomes a deity (i.e. dies)."[964]

The ritual was intended to cremate the body and to transfer the spirit and the soul separated from the body at the moment of death from this world through the liminal state of transition to a new existence in the netherworld.[965] A symbolic break with affairs of this life is pointedly expressed in the magical practice of burning a cord and the calling of weepers: "When thou wilt go to the meadow, do not pull the cord!"[966] At the same time the soul of the dead king or queen received offerings together with divinities and ancestor spirits. The funerary ritual introduced him/

961 Cf. KUB 30.28+ obv. 12' ^{D}*Ḫa-am-ri-iš-ḫa-ra* ^{D}[, and 29' ^{D}*Ḫa-am-ri-iš-ḫa-ra-aš* ^{D}[, Otten 1958b: 94f. For Ḫamri-Išḫara, the avatar of the goddess Išḫara, see 3.2.5.

962 KUB 30.28 rev. 11f. (with its duplicate KBo 34.80, 5'ff.), Otten 1958b: 96f.; van den Hout 1994a: 42; Archi 2007b: 189.

963 CHD Š 99.

964 KUB 30.16+KUB 39.1 i 1f. For the *šalliš waštaiš* ritual, see Otten 1958b; Christmann-Frank 1971; Kassian – Korolëv – Sidel'tsev 2002; cf. also Haas 1994a: 219ff.; van den Hout 1994a: 56ff.; 1995b; Taracha 1998b; Haas 2000: 56ff.; Kapełuś 2006: 81ff.; Rutherford 2007: 223ff.; Kapełuś 2008.

965 As A.C. Cohen (2005: 17f.) remarks, "this structuring of death rituals as rites of passage may be one of the few universals of human behavior."

966 KUB 30.19++ iv 13f., Otten 1958b: 46f.; Kassian – Korolëv – Sidel'tsev 2002: 516f.

her to the community of family ancestors and it was tantamount to the beginning of his/her cult as part of the ancestor cult (see below).

Every funeral needed some place for the soul to reside while receiving its first installments of funerary offerings.[967] In the Hittite royal funerary ritual the soul first descended in a slaughtered plough-ox. The body was cremated during the first days of the ritual. It was burnt on a pyre, and the next day women went to the pyre to gather the remaining bones. They put out the fire by pouring beer, wine and other liquids onto it, then they washed the bones in a silver vessel containing oil and wrapped them in linen, put them on a chair if it was a man (king), or on a footstool if a woman (queen). A funerary banquet took place in the presence of the burnt remains, with a cult toast performed three times to the soul. Like in Mesopotamian funerals, the chair or the footstool was presumably another place of soul emplacement.[968] At the same time an image of the deceased was arranged out of fruit in the middle of the pyre, perhaps as a symbol of fertility and his/her rebirth to life in the netherworld. The funeral proper ended with the transfer of the bones into the mausoleum called É.NA_4 or 'Stone House' (see below), where they were placed on a bed.

Magical practices in successive days were supposed to transfer the ghost of either the dead king or the queen to the meadow of the netherworld, where one should "secure for the deceased an afterlife modeled on his/her former existence without, of course, all human deficiencies."[969] A seated statue of the deceased played a prominent role in the next days of the ritual.[970] From then on it was to be driven around on a cart between various locations where the rites were performed. No description of the activities on the last fourteenth day has survived, so we do not know what ultimately happened to the statue. JoAnn Scurlock has noted with insight in reference to funerary statues in Mesopotamia: "Given the aversion of gods to death, it is very unlikely that a statue used in a funeral would have found its way into a divine sanctuary."[971] The similarity of magical practices on the thirteenth day to the substitution rituals could suggest that the statue was offered to the Sun-goddess of the

967 For soul emplacements in Mesopotamian funerary rituals, see Scurlock 2002.
968 Scurlock 2002: 2ff.
969 van den Hout 1994a: 60f.
970 van den Hout 1995b.
971 Scurlock 2002: 2.

Earth as a substitute for the deceased, so that he/she was able to avoid the sad fate of other souls in her kingdom and go to the meadow of the privileged.[972]

Once integrated into the invisible world, the ancestor became a new entity, spiritual and eternal. The Hittites perceived the family dead as protective deities of lesser rank (Hittite Zawalli).[973] It was expected that they would care for the living members of the family. The spirit of a deceased could be invoked after death, which permitted contact to be established. At the same time the dead required offerings and rituals in the ancestor cult.[974] The renowned king lists (CTH 661) amply attest to this practice in the royal family.[975] Some of these lists include queens and other members of the ruling family; others extend beyond the worship of ancestors from the royal house of the Empire period and contain also the names of kings of the Old Hittite dynasty, referring to the tradition of Hittite kingship.

A term which denotes the death of someone from the royal family was connected with the ancestor cult: 'to become a god,' that is 'divine' ancestor.[976] The dead, however, were not deified in the sense that they became like the high gods of the pantheon.[977] "The 'divinity' of the dead ancestors is an expression that they possess another status than the living so that they can provide – like the gods – blessings and welfare for the family when they are venerated in a proper way."[978] In this case the royal house from Ḫattuša recurred to the concept of the ancestor cult in northern Syria.[979]

The ghosts of people who were not fully integrated into the netherworld, either because they had not been properly buried or because they were, for some reasons,

972 Taracha 1998b.
973 del Monte 1975; Archi 1979c.
974 Archi 1979c; Kapełuś 2006: 140ff.; Archi 2007a; Singer, in press.
975 Otten 1951; 1968; Haas – Wäfler 1977: 106ff.; Carruba 2007. Similar lists in the cult of dead kings and ancestors from the royal family are known from Mesopotamia and from Ugarit and Mari in Syria, see, e.g., Finkelstein 1966; Bayliss 1973; Kitchen 1977; Pardee 1996; Čech 2002; Jacquet 2002.
976 Silvestri 1982; Taracha 2000: 196; Hutter-Braunsar 2001; Kapełuś 2006: 40ff. *Contra* Beal (2002d: 59f.) and Soysal (2003: 53f.) not only the king 'became a god' after death.
977 For a different interpretation, see Haas – Wäfler 1977: 89 n. 19; Haas – Wegner 1992: 249; Haas 1994a: 243 ("Der Wendung "zum *šiu*(*n*) werden" könnte der Glaube zugrunde liegen, daß die Seelen des Königs und der Königin nach dem Tode mit dem ererbten indogermanischen Himmels- und Stammesgott verschmelzen"). Later, however, Haas (2000: 53) changed his view.
978 Hutter 1997: 84.
979 For Ugarit, cf. Xella 1983: 286; Lewis 1989: 49, 171; Sørensen 1999: 11ff. with references. For Emar, see van der Toorn 1994b; Schmidt 1996.

not getting their offerings in the ancestor cult, were capable of causing the living a good deal of grief. Also unexpected or untimely contact with ghosts, treated as an omen, resulted in ghost fear.[980] This fear was regarded as magic contamination to be removed by purificatory rituals. The action of rancorous words, similarly as enmity between people, did not stop with the death of one side of the conflict. The deceased could take revenge from beyond the grave for wrongs experienced in life or wrongs suffered by members of his/her family. Among the *mantalli* rituals pertaining to rancor, which were performed to heal an antagonism between two people, there are many that were offered by a living person with the deceased.[981] In one such ritual Ḫattušili III offered a ghost haunting him a whole city, whose inhabitants were obliged ever since to celebrate a cult of the deceased.[982]

The É.NA$_4$ (DINGIR^{LIM}/ DINGIR^{LIM} *addaš*) or 'Stone House (of the god or of the divine father, ancestor)' was a real mausoleum, in which the mortal remains of royal family members lay.[983] In the royal funerary ritual the ashes of a king or queen were taken there after being collected from the pyre (see above). The terms DINGIR^{LIM} *addaš* / DINGIR$^{(MEŠ)}$ *AB(B)U=ŠU* 'god(s) (his) father(s), i.e., divine father(s), ancestor(s),'[984] or *addaš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*iš* 'gods of the father' are a literal translation of the Hurrian *en=ni atta=ni* 'god father,' or *en(i)=na atta=ni=ve/i=na* 'gods of the father' respectively and refer to a Syrian tradition of the ancestor cult going as far back as the second half of the third millennium BC in Ebla.[985]

The tomb appears to have remained under the protection of a patron deity of the dead person. Chamber B of the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya, which was probably the burial place of Tutḫaliya IV, bears a large relief (no. 81) of the king in the embrace of his protective god Šarrumma. Also Ḫattušili III mentions in his *Apology* that he erected for himself the 'House of Bones' (*ḫaštiyaš pir*), which he dedicated to his

980 del Monte 1973.
981 Archi 1971: 211f.; Hutter 1991: 38f.; van den Hout 1998: 5f., 91f.
982 KUB 16.32 ii 24'ff., van den Hout 1998: 169, 180f.
983 Otten 1958b: 70f.; 104ff.; Haas – Wäfler 1977: 119; Groddek 2001a; van den Hout 2002 with references; Kapełuś 2006: 108ff. Cf. also KUB 16.39 ii 3, 6, 11: É.NA$_4$ DINGIR^{LIM} ^{m}*Tutḫaliya* 'Stone House of the God Tutḫaliya' referring to the mausoleum of Tutḫaliya (IV).
984 Cf. Luwian *tatinzi* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*inzi* 'fathers gods, divine fathers' in KUB 9.31 ii 30, Starke 1990: 146.
985 Taracha 1998b: 190f.; 2000: 195f. with references. For DINGIR.A.MU(.SÙ) 'god (his) father' in Eblaitic texts, see Xella 1983: 288; Archi 1988c: 107ff. For *'il'ibh* in Ugarit, Emar, El-Qitâr, etc., see, e.g., van der Toorn 1993 with references.

patron goddess Šauška of Šamuḫa.[986] It follows from this that the king took care to prepare a tomb for himself during his lifetime.

The Stone House is the most common term designating buildings with a clear funerary purpose. Two others are the said House of Bones and the House of the Dead (É GIDIM or É *ŠA* GIDIM).[987] The only text that refers to the founding of a Stone House is a donation act of queen Ašmunikkal, which describes in detail the organization and functioning of the mausoleum.[988] It was more than just a tomb; it was a whole temple-like complex of the ancestor cult with fields, orchards, vineyards, cattle and sheep, and numerous cult personnel. Respective documents granted freedom from taxes to the Stone House. The queen laid also particular cities and professional groups under tribute for the cult performed there. The estate of the Stone House as belonging to the deceased could not be put up for sale, also the people working there and their descendants could not marry outside. Everything that came in contact with the dead was considered impure and contact with such things required purificatory rites to be performed.

The mausoleum should not be identified with a memorial called ^{NA_4}*ḫekur* SAG.UŠ 'Eternal Peak,' which was the cult place of a dead king or queen without necessarily containing their mortal remains. Šuppiluliuma II erected an everlasting *ḫekur* for Tutḫaliya IV, identified with the structure on top of the outcrop Nişantaş in Ḫattuša, and set up a statue of his father there, inscribed with his *res gestae* (see 3.2.6).[989] An oracle text mentions the statue of a queen in association with a *ḫekur*.[990] Is it the same *ḫekur* of the LAMMA god that is attested to in the affair concerning Muršili II's stepmother, the last wife of his late father Šuppiluliuma I? As Muršili complained, "she has turned over my father's complete estate to the *ḫekur*-house of the Tutelary God (and) the divine Stone House."[991]

986 KUB 1.1+ iv 75f., Otten 1981: 28f.
987 For the É (*ŠA*) GIDIM, see ABoT 56 iii 4'ff. (Otten 1958b: 104), KBo 21.35 i 5' (Otten 1958b: 102 n. 2), KUB 23.107 rev.? 3' (Hagenbuchner 1989: 340), KUB 39.60 1'. Cf. Kapełuś 2006: 121f.
988 KUB 13.8, Otten 1958b: 104ff.; 1974; Groddek 2001a: 214ff.
989 See n. 780.
990 KUB 22.70 obv. 12ff., Ünal 1978: 6ff.; van den Hout 1994a: 49; Beal 2002c: 14ff. (erroneously: the 'Stone House').
991 KUB 14.4 ii 3'ff., cf. CHD L-N 361b with literature. The cited passage translated by van den Hout 1994a: 49.

It seems that like the Stone Houses, also (some of) the *ḫekur*-memorials remained under the protection of the patron deities. A *ḫekur* of Muwattalli II located in the territory of Tarḫuntašša, mentioned in the Bronze Tablet of the Tutḫaliya IV treaty with Kurunta,[992] was dedicated to the Storm-god, the divine patron of Muwattalli. The *ḫekur* of the LAMMA god, which served in the posthumous cult of Šuppiluliuma I, has already been mentioned.[993] *Ḫekur*-sanctuaries of Pirwa[994] and Kammamma[995] are also evidenced in the sources.

The É(.GAL) *ḫuḫḫaš* (^{D}UTU$^{\text{Š}I}$) or 'House (or Palace) of the Grandfathers (of His Majesty)' was also connected with the royal ancestor cult.[996] Texts confirm the presence of such establishments in Ḫattuša, Šamuḫa and Katapa, all three cities being royal residences at different stages in Hittite history.[997] There is no decisive proof for the identification of the House of the Grandfathers with the Stone House, although it demonstrates several similarities as a cult place and at the same time an institution with its own property and personnel. The House of the Grandfathers as a sanctuary of the dynastic ancestor cult recalls the É $^{\text{(D)}}$MUL(.MUL) in Ebla and the *bt 'ilm kbkm* ('House of the Divine Stars') in Ugarit,[998] which once again confirms the ties between the ancestor cult in the Hittite royal family of the Empire period and the Syrian tradition.

The texts say practically nothing about the beliefs of common people concerning death. We know of several cemeteries from the Hittite period,[999] including (to mention only the most important ones) extramural burial grounds of the capital Ḫattuša on the hills of Osmankayası and Bağlarbaşıkayası,[1000] Kazankaya northwest of

992 See above 3.2.6 with n. 718.
993 Cf. also KUB 18.54, KUB 42.83 vi 2'.
994 KBo 12.140 rev. 12': $^{\text{N}]\text{A}_4}$*ḫekur Pirwa* ^{m}*Tu[tḫaliya?* (Imparati 1977: 50ff. with n. 113) suggests a connection between Pirwa (=? Pirengir) and one of the kings named Tutḫaliya.
995 KBo 10.35 i? 4' (Imparati 1977: n. 23); KUB 56.37 i? 7'[.
996 HED 3: 355 ('dynastic mausoleum?'); Taracha 1998b: 191; 2000: 200f.; Kapełuś 2006: 115ff.; 2007.
997 Taracha 2007a.
998 For É $^{\text{(D)}}$MUL(.MUL) in Ebla, see, e.g., Xella 1983: 289. 'Star of Ebla' was a title of the kings of Ebla. Most scholars interpret the *bt 'ilm kbkm* in Ugarit as a sanctuary of the dynastic ancestor cult, e.g. Spronk 1986: 157f.; Dietrich – Loretz 1991: 87. For a different opinion, see van der Toorn 1991: 50.
999 See, in general, Emre 1978: 123ff.; 1991; Haas 1994a: 234ff.; van den Hout 1994a: 53ff.; Popko 1995a: 155ff.
1000 Bittel – Herre – Otten – Röhrs – Scheuble 1958.

Çekerek,[1001] İlica in the region of Ankara,[1002] Yanarlar near Afyon,[1003] Demircihöyük-Sarıket near Eskişehir,[1004] and Gordion some 200 km west of Ankara.[1005] In the second millennium BC, cremation became increasingly common. At Osmankayası and Bağlarbaşıkayası there is a mixture of cremation and inhumation. Different kinds of vessels were used as urns for ashes; they were sometimes placed in pithoi and covered with stones or cups. At İlica, all the burials with the exception of one cist grave were cremations with beak-spouted pitchers used as urns. This cemetery is characterized by rows of stone monoliths marking the burials, proof that the living needed to be able to locate the graves of specific family members at a later date. Memorials of this kind were not noted elsewhere. At Osmankayası and İlica, the pottery was intentionally damaged during the funerary rites before being deposited in the grave. Connected with the same rites were libation vessels and animal bones – burnt in the graves at İlica, and at Osmankayası sometimes complete burials of oxen, pigs, sheep, or equids; in the case of the latter, isolated skulls were also found.

At Kazankaya, only inhumation burials were attested. Similarly as in the case of the cemetery of pithoi graves at Yanarlar lying farther west and at Gordion, where three forms of inhumations occur: pit graves, pithoi graves and cist graves. Cremation also started being used in the west. Among several dozen skeletal graves in Demircihöyük-Sarıket a few urns with ashes were discovered, as well as three pithoi graves, where ashes of a later cremation were added to an earlier inhumation. A similar situation was observed at cemeteries in Panaztepe near Izmir and Beşiktepe in Troas. The deceased were members of the same community, even the same family. This also demonstrates that the dissemination of cremation as a funerary rite, considered possibly to guarantee a 'better' passage to the netherworld, was not connected with ethnic changes; neither did it presumably bring about more significant changes in eschatological beliefs (see also 1.2).[1006] The people who practiced cremation apparently held to the religious concept of the soul apart from the body (see above). By contrast, West Semitic contemporaries of Syro-Palestine, including the Israelites, believed that the body and soul were inseparable, which for them made cremation unthinkable, as noted in the Bible.

1001 T. Özgüç 1978: vol. 1, 69ff.
1002 Orthmann 1967.
1003 Emre 1978.
1004 Seeher 1991; Seeher – Jansen – Pernicka – Wittwer-Backofen 2000.
1005 Mellink 1956.
1006 Seeher 1993; cf. also Novák 2003: 65ff.

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